



Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-96-147
Tuesday
30 July 1996

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-96-147

CONTENTS

30 July 1996

NOTICE: This volume contains a representative selection of material previously disseminated in softcopy format.

ALBANIA

Albania: Government Attitudes Toward U.S. Assessed [KOHA JONE 26 Jul]	1
Albania: Zhulali Seen as 'Washington's Man' [KOHA JONE 27 Jul]	1
Albania: Berisha Meets With EU's Van Den Broek [ATA]	2
Albania: Shehu Briefs Van Den Broek on Government Program [ATA]	3
Albania: EU's Van Den Broek Receives Party Officials [KOHA JONE 26 Jul]	3
Albania: Van Den Broek Discusses EU Support With Meksi [ATA]	4
Albania: EU's Van Den Broek Urges Fair Elections [KOHA JONE 27 Jul]	4
Albania: Significance of Visit by EU Commissioner [KOHA JONE 26 Jul]	5
Albania: Berisha Announces Local Elections on 20 Oct [ALBANIA 30 Jul]	6
Albania: Rights Group Criticizes 'Extremist Greek Circles' [ATA]	6

BULGARIA

Bulgaria: Pirinski Views Foreign Policy, Sofia Meeting [DUMA 27 Jul]	8
Bulgaria: Videnov Briefs Socialists on Pirinski Campaign [Sofia Radio]	8
Bulgaria: UK Defense Secretary Portillo Arrives [Sofia Radio]	9
Bulgaria: Russian Arms Seen as 'Vital Breath of Oxygen' [BULGARSKA ARMIYA 27 Jul]	9
Bulgaria: U.S. Firm To Sample Reactor Shell Metal [TRUD 27 Aug]	10
Bulgaria: Bomb Hoaxes at 3 Party Headquarters in Sofia [AFP]	10

CZECH REPUBLIC

Czech Republic: Intelligence Supervision Under Bratinka Viewed [RESPEKT 29 Jul-4 Aug]	11
Czech Republic: Basta as Security Service Monitor Discussed [MLADA FRONTA DNES 30 Jul]	12

SLOVAKIA

Slovakia: Daily Comments on U.S. Aid for NATO Hopefuls [SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 27 Jul]	13
Slovakia: Sitek Views Army Readiness for NATO Integration [SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 27 Jul]	13
Slovakia: International Perception of Country Viewed [PRAVDA 25 Jul]	14
Slovakia: Defense Minister's Statement on Security Objectives [HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 29 Jul]	15
Slovakia: Defense Minister Discusses Arms Industry [HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 26 Jul]	15
Slovakia: Slovak Sappers Build New Bridge in Vukovar [SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 29 Jul]	16
Slovakia: 'Aide Memoire' on Inequity of Ethnic Autonomy [Bratislava TV]	16
Slovakia: Most Opposition Parties Support 'Aide Memoire' [SME 6 Jul]	17
Slovakia: Territorial, Administrative Law Unchanged [PRACA 4 Jul]	17

HUNGARY

Hungary: Solana on NATO Expansion, Russian Attitude [Budapest TV]	19
Hungary: FIDESZ Expert Interviewed on Army Reform [NEPSZABADSAG 29 Jul]	19
Hungary: Number of Conscripts Continues To Fall [Budapest Radio]	21
Hungary: SZDSZ Official Comments on Competition With MSZP [MAGYAR HIRLAP 26 Jul]	21
Hungary: Radio, TV Chairmen Fear 'Renationalization' [NEPSZABADSAG 29 Jul]	22

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

B-H: Sarajevo-Adriatic Rail Link Reopens [AFP]	23
--	----

B-H: Izetbegovic Speaks at Railway Line Resumption Ceremony [Sarajevo Radio]	23
B-H: Poll Results Show Izetbegovic Most Popular Candidate [Hanau NOVA BOSNA 30 Jul]	23
B-H: Poll Assesses Popularity of Candidates, Parties [LJILJAN 27-31 Jul]	23
B-H: Silajdzic's Party Expresses Support for UN's Steiner [BETA]	24
B-H: Ganic Office Lists Attempts 'To Intimidate' Muslims [Sarajevo Radio]	25
B-H: 'Sources' Say EU 'Considering' Sanctions Against Croats [BETA]	25
B-H: Croat Mayor Vows No Surrender Over Mostar Elections [Zagreb Radio]	26
B-H: 'Hardline' Mostar Croats Reject 'International Pressure' [AFP]	27
B-H: LBO Leader Blames Croatia for Mostar Crisis [BH PRESS]	27
B-H: Croat Mostar Official Criticizes EU, UN Officials [BETA]	27
B-H: Mostar HDZ Wants EU Envoy for Bosnia Replaced [Mostar Radio]	28
B-H: HDZ Accuses International Community of Pro-Muslim Bias [Mostar Radio]	28
B-H: German Firm Signs Agreement To Build 3 Power Plants [AFP]	29
B-H: Human Rights Official on Return of Refugees [VEČERNJE NOVINE 5 Jun]	29
B-H: Plavsic Discusses Future of Federation, Election Chances [Bad Vilbel VESTI 29 Jul]	30
B-H: Serb Leadership 'Not To Succumb' to Pressures [SRNA]	32
B-H: Prospects for Serb Republic Reconstruction Viewed [BETA]	33
B-H: Official Says Karadzic Pictures Must Be Removed [AFP]	36
B-H: Debate Seen Lacking in Bosnian Serb Election Campaign [AFP]	36
B-H: 'Nothing Will Change' if Milovanovic Replaces Mladic [DNEVNI AVAZ 20-21 Jul]	37
B-H: Radical Leader Calls Ganic's Belgrade Visit 'Ironical' [BETA]	38
B-H: Serb Republic Socialist Leader Radisic Interviewed [Bad Vilbel VESTI 14 Jul]	38

CROATIA

Croatia: Tudjman Addresses HDZ Youth Convention [Zagreb Radio]	40
Croatia: PM Matesa To Demand Elections in E. Slavonia [Zagreb Radio]	43
Croatia: UNHCR Says Abdic Refugee Camp To Close 31 Jul [AFP]	43
Croatia: Stanimirovic Warns Serb Exodus Possible [Beli Manastir Radio]	44
Croatia: Serb Commentary Sees 'Hatred' in Croat Media [Beli Manastir Radio]	44
Croatia: All Serb Media To Follow Same Editorial Policy [Beli Manastir Radio]	45

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

FYROM: Albanians Demonstrate Outside U.S. Embassy [MIC]	46
FYROM: Tetovo Arrests Said To Undermine Stability [BETA]	46
FYROM: Democrats Express Concern Over Tetovo Rally [MIC]	46
FYROM: Association of Aegean Macedonians Holds Meeting [MIC]	46
FYROM: Emigrant Society Holds Roundtable [MIC]	47
FYROM: Flights to Sarajevo Planned for B-H Refugees [BETA]	47
FYROM: Personnel Changes at Nova Makedonija Company [NOVA MAKEDONIJA 15 Jul]	47

ROMANIA

Romania: Chief of Staff Says \$2.5 Billion Needed To Equip Army [ROMANIA LIBERA 22 Jul]	48
Romania: Bishop Tokes Urges Hungarian 'National Strategy' [MAGYAR HIRLAP 27 Jul]	48

SLOVENIA

Slovenia: 'Tight' Outcome Predicted for Fall Elections [DNEVNIK 22 Jul]	50
Slovenia: Foreign Debt Reported at \$2.975 Billion [Ljubljana Radio]	50

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

FRY: Lilic Speaks at Military Academy Graduation [TANJUG]	51
---	----

FRY: UK Advice Sought To Improve International Image [<i>London FINANCIAL TIMES</i> 29 Jul]	52
FRY: NBJ Denies Dropping Charges Against London Club [<i>BETA</i>]	53
FRY: Czech Republic Ready To Give Credit Toward Power Plant [<i>TANJUG</i>]	53

Serbia

Serbia: Belgrade Given 1 Year To Present Case on Genocide [<i>AFP</i>]	53
Serbia: Kontic Said To Order Succession Group Head Replaced [<i>DNEVNI TELEGRAF</i> 27 Jul]	53
Serbia: Domestic Views on U.S. 'Influence' Polled [<i>NEDELJNI TELEGRAF</i> 24 Jul]	54

Vojvodina

Vojvodina: Minority Paper on Official Inaction [<i>MAGYAR SZO</i> 1 Jun]	54
Vojvodina: Ethnic Hungarian Leader Views Minority Situation [<i>MAGYAR NEMZET</i> 25 Jul]	55

Albania: Government Attitudes Toward U.S. Assessed

AU2607175796 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian
26 Jul 96 p 10

[Commentary by Vladimir Prela: "One Government, Two Lines on the United States"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Safet Zhulali, the reappointed Albanian defense minister, has no doubt about U.S.-Albanian relations. "I think that military relations between the United States and Albania will develop entirely normally, without any problem. I take the same view about other fields, because Albania is a democratic country," the defense minister said at a news conference to the BBC's correspondent in Tirana. In the course of the explanation, he underlined that "I do not think there need be any reason to believe that relations between Albania and the United States will not proceed on the same path and at the same level as before."

This optimism must not be ignored and discounted out of hand, despite the very clear problems between Berisha's team and Washington. It must not be forgotten that during the last four years Mr. Safet Zhulali has been one of the central figures in Albanian foreign policy. Because of his personality or because of circumstances in the Balkans and Europe, he has dominated the agenda of the Albanian Government's international activities. But above all it must not be forgotten that while the president of the Republic barely managed to organize a visit to the United States, the Albanian defense minister was twice invited to Washington, and on both occasions there was full ceremonial including the inspection of a guard of honor. This was a privilege not accorded even to Mr. Sali Berisha. And this is not all. Whereas the Foreign Ministry did not succeed for a moment in bringing Mr. Christopher to Albania, U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry has been Zhulali's guest in Tirana. Many people tie this inextricably to the war in Bosnia, but this argument would also hold good for the U.S. secretary of state, who has handled the problems of Bosnia and the former Yugoslavia just as much as the defense secretary.

On the basis of this reasoning, it appears that Mr. Zhulali has reminded us by his statement yesterday that there are other voices besides those of the "anti-Americans" in the Albanian Government. He reminds us that they have remained consistent in preserving close relations between Albania and the United States and that this is something new in the life of the Democratic Party. Listening to such a statement from the Albanian defense minister creates the impression that there are two lines in the leadership of the Democratic Party, one pro-American and the other anti-American. After

the elections of 26 May, there has been no exaltation of U.S.-Albanian relations, and it has even been questionable to mention them. In his program presented to the parliament, Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi did not single out relations with the United States as he did four years ago.

Another fact that makes you think that two currents exist within the current Albanian Government over relations with the United States is the appointment of Albania's foreign minister. Mr. Berisha, attentive to symbolism, did not try to choose an "American" to lead the Foreign Ministry. Mr. Tritan Shehu is well known for his familiarity with Italy, but not with the United States.

However, recognizing the extremely good relations between Berisha and Zhulali, put to the test at a most crucial time when the Democratic Alliance accused the defense minister of corruption, one can see that there are more than two lines in the policy toward the United States. There are two lines in the policy of Mr. Berisha. Berisha will be able to keep at the head of the Albanian Defense Ministry someone with a sound knowledge of the United States, who will consistently carry forward military relations between Albania and the United States, which willy-nilly will keep alive political contact with Washington. Berisha now more than ever needs a Shehu, who is used to European political circles, at a time when Albanian diplomacy must deal intensively with the envoys of political groups, the OSCE, and all the other international organizations that are involved in the democratization of the former-communist world.

It is clearer than every today that the pragmatist Berisha is not aiming to demonstrate loyalty toward the West as much as to emerge as lightly bruised as possible from confrontation with the defenders of democratic principles.

Two lines on the United States may exist in the Albanian Government, but they do not influence its activities.

Albania: Zhulali Seen as 'Washington's Man'

AU2907132096 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian
27 Jul 96 p 4

[Commentary by Gavrosh Levonja: "Berisha and Zhulali on Opposite Tracks"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The distance President Berisha has covered in his anti-American attitudes clearly shows that the temperature of relations between Albania and the United States is becoming arctic, and there are clear signs of an imminent freeze. The criticisms of irregularities in the elections and the call from Washington

for new polls as the sole way of overcoming the crisis created in the country have come up against a determined wall of opposition from Berisha, a wall constructed out of categorical statements that "No elections will be held before 2000" and stale expressions from the Hoxha years about "infringements of the country's sovereignty" and so forth. After boycotting the reception organized by the Americans in Tirana on 4 July, Berisha refused to meet Assistant Secretary of State Wirth and gave a similar rebuff to Senator Engel, the leader of the pro-Albanian group in the U.S. Congress and the man who handed Clinton the petition asking for Berisha to be invited to the White House. Of course, such attitudes cannot pass without having an effect on U.S. political circles. By adding all these things to the bitter aftertaste of the 26 May elections, there is talk in U.S. institutions about "changes in the basis of relations between Albania and the United States," "backward steps on the road to democracy," and "a review of the stand toward Albania and aid for Tirana."

However, in this chilly atmosphere between Washington and Tirana, the attitudes and statements of Defense Minister Zhulali are striking in that they see in the United States the prime supporter of the Albanian Army, Albania's membership of NATO, etc. Our minister expressed these things on his visit to Peaceful Eagle '96 at Bize, and confirmed them more clearly and at greater length at a news conference the day before yesterday [25 Jul]. Of course, Mr. Zhulali's position is much closer to reality than that of the head of state. He is aware more than anybody else of the contribution the United States has made to modernizing the Albanian Army and to integrating Albania with other countries in the Partnership for Peace initiative. Zhulali, talking about a civil university for servicemen, the conversion of part of the defense industry to civilian purposes, and a joint U.S.-Albanian unit, said that without the Pentagon's help these things would be utopian. Zhulali is aware that there will be no way that Albania can enter NATO with the help of the trickery of the Radio-Television, which shifted Albania to the top of the list for admission, when in fact she is at the bottom.

These were the reasons leading Zhulali to talk about the excellent relations with the United States in the military field. Above all, it is clear to the defense minister that now, in contrast to the time of the Cold War, the Americans cannot tolerate leaders that go against their principles.

Besides this, and in contrast to Berisha, Zhulali is in the good books of Albania's transatlantic partner as regards the democratization of the Army. Under the example of U.S. instructions, civilian control over the Army has been strengthened, there is more openness, and so

forth. Moreover, the last few years have shown that the defense minister is a favorite friend of the Pentagon and the U.S. Administration in general. Zhulali has not only been the Albanian minister invited more than anybody else to Washington, but the receptions reserved for him have perhaps been of a higher grade than those accorded to Berisha himself. Thus, without dwelling on the matter, Zhulali can be considered "pro-American" or "Washington's man." The support that has been given to Albania by the United States in the military field might even be connected, to however small an extent, with the aim of strengthening the position of the defense minister in Albanian politics. The fact that Zhulali is the sole minister remaining from Meksi's first cabinet of April 1992 shows that the Americans have achieved this goal.

It would therefore not be any surprise if, in the case of a further embitterment of relations between Berisha and Washington, the latter might further increase its support for Zhulali, even seeing him as a perhaps temporary alternative to Berisha himself. Considering the minimal space that the progovernment press gave to the defense minister's news conference, and the fact that some papers did not cover it at all, one gains the impression that Zhulali's statements are a bitter mouthful for the head of state and commander in chief of our Armed Forces to swallow.

Albania: Berisha Meets With EU's Van Den Broek

AU2607182496 Tirana ATA in English
0843 GMT 26 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, July 25 (ATA)—Albania's President Sali Berisha held talks on Thursday with the European Commissioner for Relations with the Eastern Europe, Hans van den Broek who stressed that the European Union will release the second tranche of aid to Albania. "Your visit is a very important event in the relations between Albania and the EU," President Berisha said welcoming the Commissioner van den Broek. "Besides our gratitude for the EU aid and solidarity to Albania, I want to assure you that we will use the mandate of May 26 to consolidate democracy and its values to further reforms in economy and establishing macro economic stability as well as Albania's integration into Euro Atlantic organisations." He highly appreciated the contribution of President Berisha consolidate our legislation to European laws, agreements and conventions. [sentence as received] We have been and are also determined to contribute to understanding, cooperation and stability in our region, he said adding that this policy results from our national interests and our Western European vocation.

President Berisha went on saying that we want to thank the Council of Ministers and the EU Commission for

their readiness to promote institutional links between Albania and the EU. "We want to assure that we will undertake all efforts to project-mandate on a new agreement with Albania to the EU Council of Ministers by the end of the year. Regarding the debate on the EU expanding to the East, will not be forgotten."

President Berisha and Commissioner van den Broek praised the importance of local elections and cooperation for their successful holding.

Regarding the Kosova issue, the Commissioner van den Broek said that "without an acceptable solution to this problem there will be no normalisation and integration of former Yugoslavia."

Albania: Shehu Briefs Van Den Broek on Government Program

AU2607181296 Tirana ATA in English
0832 GMT 26 Jul 96

[Report by F. Vladi]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, July 26 (ATA)—The Albanian Foreign Minister Tritan Shehu met Thursday, the European Commissioner Hans van den Broek. Shehu acquainted Broek with the programme of the new Albanian government, which will accelerate the economic and social development, spokesman of the Foreign Ministry said. "The Albanian people on May 26 finally consolidated the victory of democracy in Albania and made a step forward in its road to Europe," Shehu said. He also briefed the E.U. envoy on local elections, to be held in October, and the work the government is doing to organise normal and correct elections according to international standards. He said that measures were taken not to allow again another technical boycotting of elections, as an act causing destabilization.

The Albanian government has invited high ranking ODIHR's [Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights] representatives to visit Albania and dialogue on the problems they mentioned in their final report about Albanian elections on May 26, Shehu added. He also said that Albanian government is open to any kind of collaboration with all European democratic institutions and invites representatives of international bodies like OSCE, CE, European Parliament and others to observe the local elections.

Regarding the new constitution and its approval, the Albanian Foreign minister said that Albania is working to ensure a consensus of all main political forces in Albania.

Broek appreciated the importance of European collaboration with Albania as a country which has played and continues to play a very important role in stability and

peace in the region. He also estimated Albanian economic development during four years of democracy and its active role in the Council of Europe, OSCE and Partnership for Peace initiative. The E.U. collaboration with Albania should reach higher levels which should bring about the Association Agreement. The European Commissioner said that the second part of the E.U. aid to Albania for the balance of payments fund is expected to be released in September.

Albania: EU's Van Den Broek Receives Party Officials

AU2607180396 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian
26 Jul 96 p 3

[Article by Emin Barci: "Put Straight 26 May With the Local Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Albania will be helped, but Europe does not make compromises with violations of democracy," was the message made by Mr. van den Broek, EU commissioner for foreign relations, to 10 Albanian political parties. The six pro-government and four opposition parties stood in line yesterday evening to meet the envoy from Brussels. The Democratic Party [PD] and the Socialist Party [PS] were allocated 30 minutes each, and the Center Pole was given the same jointly with the Democratic Party of the Right. The Republican Party, the National Front, the Christian-Democratic Party, the Human Rights Union, and the Social-Democratic Union felt snubbed with only 15 minutes jointly.

After arriving in Tirana, Van den Broek held meetings with diplomats of the United States, Germany, France, and Switzerland. Sources within the EU office say that the meeting painted a picture of the situation in Albania since 26 May and that each diplomat portrayed to Van den Broek the attitude of his own government. The series of meetings with the political parties began with the PD. The delegation consisted of Spahia, Brojka, and Gjongecaj. Spahia uttered three sentences immediately after saying goodbye to the commissioner: "Albania will never lack the help of the EU. Albania will be helped. We talked about recent political developments." Party Secretary Gjongecaj preferred to think before saying anything and invited journalists into his office. The journalists noticed that the PD delegation did not emerge from the meeting looking very pleased. Journalists expected that as ever the PD leaders would "confirm" Van den Broek's support for the victory of 26 May and EU support for the PD, but Spahia behaved cautiously, indicating the unpleasant reality of the talks for the ruling party.

The four PS deputy chairmen then took their seats at the table with the commissioner. After 30 minutes, Pellumbi announced to journalists, "We have learned that the purpose of the visit is for the EU to offer help to emerge from the political crisis in which the country is plunged." Pellumbi stressed that the Socialists for their part had put forward their party's ideas about surmounting the crisis and that they had sought from Van den Broek greater support from European institutions for the restoration of democracy. In connection with Spahia's statement after he had parted from Van den Broek, Pellumbi said, "The PD is pleased at the mere fact that Van den Broek came, while we are pleased at what he said and at what we told him." Pellumbi was unwilling to reveal what the commissioner told the Socialists, convinced that Van den Broek would say it himself at his news conference.

The Democratic Alliance represented by Ceka and Imami, the Social-Democratic Party represented by Gjinushi and Milo, and the Democratic Party of the Right represented by Kalakulla and Kokobobo then had a joint meeting with the commissioner. Gjinushi said afterward, "The EU's problem is that a solution must be found for this situation in Albania with a formula that both helps Albania and does not compromise democracy." Asked about ways out of the crisis and how to meet this demand, Gjinushi said, "The solution still lies in a roundtable, changing the laws, and guaranteeing free and equal elections." Gjinushi admitted that general elections were not specifically mentioned, but the immediate problem of local elections was discussed. One of the representatives at the meeting said that Van den Broek agreed with the idea of the opposition that, after what happened on 26 May, local elections cannot be embarked on without full guarantees.

Van den Broek met representatives of the Republican Party, the National Front, the Christian-Democratic Party, the Human Rights Union, and the Social-Democratic Union for less than 20 minutes. Republican Party Deputy Chairman Cerciz Mingomata said after the meeting, "The commissioner treated us very brusquely because he was in a hurry, and I did not like the fact that he gathered us all together." However, Social-Democratic Union Chairman Teodor Laco emerged totally satisfied from the meetings. "The commissioner sent by the EU is very clear about the situation in Albania. The people have now given their verdict about the 26 May elections and are very calm. Everything goes to show that the forthcoming local elections will be calm and orderly," he said, saying things that not even the PD has uttered. The Christian-Democratic Chairman Bushati said that Van den Broek was mainly interested in "local government

elections and the Constitution." Following his meetings with the parties, the envoy from Brussels had separate meetings with Tritan Shehu, PD chairman and foreign minister, and with President Sali Berisha.

Albania: Van Den Broek Discusses EU Support With Meksi

*AU2607204796 Tirana ATA in English
1533 GMT 26 Jul 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, July 26 (ATA)—Albanian Premier Aleksander Meksi and European Commissioner Hans van den Broek on Friday treated the EU relations with Albania, political and economic developments in Albania, the situation in the region and other issues. "Good results lead to intensification of cooperation," said EU's external affairs commissioner regarding the ongoing cooperation of EU with Albania, in the meeting at the Palace of Brigades. Negotiations are starting in November to sign a new accord, which will strengthen economic ties, increase support for the reform and mark a rapprochement between EU and Albania. "I confirmed EU's further aid and support for Albania in all my meetings in Tirana. We recognise your clear vision of Europe, we appreciate understanding with you," he said.

Meksi reconfirmed Albanian government's gratitude for EU's very significant engagement in Albania both in the first stage of emergency and through the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary], CROSS-BORDER and other programmes. Meksi familiarised the commissioner with the priorities of his government's programme and stressed the importance of EU's support especially in developing infrastructure. Meksi referred to the upcoming local elections and stressed that all measures would be taken for fair elections. Regarding the situation in the region, the two shared the same view on the indispensability of solving the Kosova issue and its specific importance for stability in the region.

Albania: EU's Van Den Broek Urges Fair Elections

*AU2807160696 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian
27 Jul 96 p 3*

[Article by Emin Barci: "The Key to Aid—Elections and the Constitution"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Albania must persuade Europe of its respect for democratic standards if it wishes close ties," was the message of EU Foreign Commissioner van den Broek at a news conference yesterday. In connection with the 26 May elections, he said, "People do not accept irregularities, and I hope that the irregularities of the general elections of May will not be repeated."

Van den Broek's hope was clearly tied to a condition he put forward of considering the local elections this autumn to be a "test case." He said that he personally believed that the Tirana government will be able to pass this test in order to improve relations with the EU, at the same time gaining substantial financial aid.

Van den Broek comes to Albania after the resolution of the European Parliament which called on the governments of the EU member-states to connect their relations with the Tirana government to the latter's commitment to restoring the democracy lost on 26 May. "We have followed up the criticisms of the elections last May, and we trust that this country will show that its democratic institutions are able to guarantee free and fair local elections," the commissioner said. However, the EU's supreme body, the European Parliament, declared the 26 May elections invalid, thus also rendering illegitimate the parliament that emerged from them. This resolution also asks Tirana to repeat the elections. In Van den Broek's statements, it seems that the EU thinks that the rerun of the polls could take place after the local elections and when the country is equipped with a constitution. This was shown by the fact that the commissioner's second main concern was the introduction of a constitution. "The new constitution cannot be created solely by the ruling party, but also requires the opposition. This constitution needs a broad consensus," he stressed. In connection with the local elections, Van den Broek expressed the conviction that our government will call on the help of the Council of Europe and the OSCE "to prepare free and fair elections." "We hope to receive an official invitation to send international observers to these elections, with the aim of confirming that we are talking to a country with which we are united by democracy and basic human rights," he stressed. The commissioner called on the opposition to take part fully in the local elections and the drafting of the constitution. Van den Broek mentioned Pjeter Arbneri as a guarantee for the conduct of free and democratic local elections. "His past, which we know of, makes him very trustworthy," Van den Broek said. Asked about the conditions Albania must fulfill to acquire associate membership, Van den Broek said that "We will decide on this matter toward the end of the year." The commissioner said that until then Europe will continue its help for Albania through the PHARE program and the agreement on trade and financial cooperation signed by Tirana and Brussels in 1992. "The question is of whether we can raise the level of these relations," the commissioner said. "When we decide this, we must have evidence in our hands." He stressed that relations between Albania and the EU depend on the European Parliament. "The European Parliament must be convinced that this country is genuinely following a road toward full democracy. The

parliament requires this confidence, in order to give the EU Council of Ministers the support to enable the latter to enter into close relations with Tirana." Van den Broek said that President Berisha will seek international help for preparing the local elections mainly from the Council of Europe. This desire of Berisha's is justified when one remembers that the Council of Europe is the sole international institution that accepted the present parliament's legitimacy. But the commissioner reported that it is expected that an OSCE mission headed by Ambassador Glover will shortly visit Tirana. Van den Broek closed the news conference by saying once again, "In this period, the priority is to organize local elections which, as regards their importance for the level of democracy, transcend local significance. Together with the preparation of the constitution, these are the most important tasks in this period."

Albania: Significance of Visit by EU Commissioner
AU2607181896 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian
26 Jul 96 p 1

[Commentary by Ben Blushi: "Put Straight 26 May With the Local Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The visit of EU Commissioner van den Broek to Tirana, which constitutes a problem for the government, and above all constitutes a problem for the opposition. Van den Broek comes to Albania at a time when the government and Berisha's administration in general have shown signs of irritation over the international community's demands for new elections. Tirana has in particular behaved pathologically toward the United States, behavior that culminated in the rejection of the visits of Assistant Secretary of State Wirth and the pro-Albanian congressman Engel. Europe, which has all the time been under U.S. pressure over Albania, is of course aware of these rebuffs. The extent to which they are appreciated can be imagined, if one remembers the ties of dependency between Washington and Brussels. Tirana does not constitute such a strategic point on the globe as to lead Europe and the United States to use different standards. Nevertheless, Berisha's desire not to fall into conflict with Europe is clear. Tritan Shehu bade a welcome to Van den Broek, apparently in full knowledge of his mission and the proposals he would bring to Tirana. The senior commissioner from Brussels had in his file the most recent report from Tirana, which made mention of a roundtable between the Democratic and Socialist parties about the local elections. In this sense, it would be meaningless for him to mediate over a chapter that both parties had agreed to close, that of the parliamentary elections. Van den Broek in general justified the foreign minister's hopes. He mainly talked about the future, and did not

dwel! much on the past. Thus means that Van den Broek did not dig up the 26 May elections and the question of repeating them, but talked about the forthcoming local elections. According to him, the errors of the parliamentary elections must be repaired at the local elections. In this context, the government and the Democratic Party [PD] found it easier to smile during their negotiations with Van den Broek.

In contrast, the opposition's mission appears more difficult. The opposition came to Van den Broek's discussion table having knocked away one of the legs of its own table. In the last few days, the conflicts within the genuine opposition, the Center Pole and the Socialist Party [PS], have been news in all the Albanian newspaper. The Center Pole and the PS went to Van den Broek with different standpoints and not as a bloc. The PS came with its participation in the local elections almost a certainty. There was nothing left for Van den Broek to do but to negotiate between the two main partners, the PD and the PS, over a single issue—the local elections and how they are to be organized.

Meanwhile the Socialists, sitting down at a table with the PD, have agreed to the negotiations starting on the topic of 20 October, the date of the local elections. The Center Pole asked for the negotiations to start over the issue of 26 May, when the country's equilibrium was upset. Van den Broek listened to two standpoints, the first of the PD and the PS, both worried about the local elections, and the other of the Center Pole, still preoccupied with the parliamentary elections. The PD and the PS spoke to Van den Broek in the same language with the dominant word "local."

Under these circumstances, the conflict between the Center Pole and the PS, although not apparently very serious, dominated yesterday's discussion table. If the two parties were to go to the commissioner with the same standpoint, the future of Albanian politics would no doubt have been different, and the next "26 May" could have been closer than the year 2000.

Albania: Berisha Announces Local Elections on 20 Oct

AU3007102796 Tirana ALBANIA in Albanian
30 Jul 96 p 3

[Article by A. Neza: "Local Elections on 20 October"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Albanians will vote for their local government representatives on 20 October. The president of the Republic announced this date for the local elections in a decree yesterday.

President Berisha announced the date following a meeting with Albanian political parties and many consul-

tations that the leaders of his party have held with the majority of the political parties. All the parties have said they will take part in the local elections, although discussions among them are continuing. At the meetings of the Democratic and the Socialist Parties, it was agreed that individual points in the law on local elections will be changed, and the possibility of reviewing the Genocide Law will be considered. Another roundtable has been initiated by the Center Pole, which has so far not achieved any kind of success beyond an agreement to hold other meetings.

The Albanians will therefore finally go to the polls at the end of October in elections that will be taken as a test of the largest party's propriety and its tolerance of smaller parties, even those with an inconsiderable electorate. Europe and other countries have stated that they will send observers to these elections, an announcement that has met with full support from the government and the Democratic Party.

The possibility of large numbers of observers was raised after some problems recorded in the parliamentary elections last May, which were abandoned by the left-wing opposition parties shortly before the close of the polls.

Albania: Rights Group Criticizes 'Extremist Greek Circles'

AU2907203396 Tirana ATA in English
1328 GMT 29 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, July 29 (ATA)—The Albanian Helsinki Committee has protested against the extremist Greek circles which "continuously survive in the U.S." after a speech of Nicola Gage, President of the Pan Epirote Federation in the U.S., in the U.S. Congress regarding the conditions of the Greek minority in Albania.

"He (Gage) has painted the situation of the Greek minority in Albania in dark colours, pretending that the minority is object of a wild and systematic discrimination and has surpassed every limit in saying that schools and churches of the Greek minority have been set on fire," the Helsinki press release said.

"The Albanian Helsinki Committee expresses its conviction that the reality on the Greek minority in Albania cannot be hidden by the irresponsible words of extremists. We can only express our regret that such voices have reached the highest offices of the U.S. democracy. The Greek minority is an element which enriches the Albanian society. It is the duty of all, minority and majority to defend the friendly coexistence from explosive efforts of extremists circles" it continued.

The press release said this means that a solid ancient tradition stands on the foundation of this reciprocal understanding and normal coexistence between minority and majority exists in the Albanian population.

Gage has spoken recently of "persecution of the Greek minority in Albania" in a report held in the subcommittee for international activities and human rights in the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress.

Shelley Clois, member of the U.S.-Albanian Federation criticized the June's report in the U.S. Congress where this Greek-American, Nicola Gage, was also attending.

She said "Gage represents in his efforts to topple Berisha's government neither the Greek government nor the Greek community in the U.S."

The freedom and human rights, the Greek minority has in Albania, are highly estimated by international organisations. No school or church of this minority have been set on fire in Albania.

Bulgaria: Pirinski Views Foreign Policy, Sofia Meeting*AU3007091196 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 27 Jul 96 p 7*

[Interview with Foreign Minister and BSP presidential candidate Georgi Pirinski, by Vasil Popov; place and date not given: "Rallying Society Is Our Greatest Task"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Popov] Today is the 41st day since you received the Democratic Left's mandate as candidate president. How do you feel?

[Pirinski] I am even more convinced that it is necessary to elect a president who will stimulate the uniting processes in our society. This is so first of all because the slogan "Together—For Bulgaria!" evoked a very serious and positive response among various circles, something I personally sense practically at every contact. Second, because it became clear that even the most difficult decisions we must adopt in the social and economic spheres cannot succeed unless we leave the vicious circle of confrontation and head along the road of stabilizing our society as a whole and facilitating the proper functioning of the institutions. [passage omitted]

[Popov] Should we be proud with the organization of the Balkan meeting on stability, security, and cooperation?

[Pirinski] It is a result of efforts that continued for 18 months. Before the agreements on stopping the conflict in former Yugoslavia were reached, indeed, even before the end of the armed conflict, we launched the idea of developing cooperation after ending the military actions. When this happened we were prepared with a number of specific proposals on asserting good-neighborliness and stability and on cooperation in the spheres of economy, culture, and justice. There were many bilateral and multilateral contacts with representatives of the countries in the region, the European partners, and countries outside the continent. A situation emerged in which Sofia could become the starting point for resuming the process of all-Balkan cooperation, which was interrupted for six years. Indeed, at present two initiatives related to the region are being developed. The first is the EU initiative, launched in Paris last year, and the other—the Sofia initiative, launched at the beginning of the month.

[Popov] Much was done during this period for our integration in the European structures.

[Pirinski] I would not like to see those steps considered only as steps initiated by the foreign minister. Both the Balkan meeting and the work in many other directions, is the result of the efforts of many responsible and especially competent diplomats in the country and abroad. As a result of their efforts, serious steps were made toward developing our association with the EU and preparing for the talks regarding our possible membership.

[Popov] What could you say about relations with Russia and the United States?

[Pirinski] There is a keen sense of hesitation in our relations with Russia. I think that in the last one and a half years we found the proper balance in seeking mutually beneficial actions, implemented on the basis of cooperation. As far as the United States is concerned, in recent months we achieved significant results. We obtained the permanent status of most favored nation. This extremely important fact proves in itself that the United States accepts us as a full-fledged partner, along with other states.

[Popov] Why is it so difficult to attract investment?

[Pirinski] In our region, which has a high potential for military conflicts, investment will come primarily by developing the infrastructure. This is so because the communications through the region are of an intercontinental and transregional character. They are necessary. However, in order to implement them we need a certain degree of stability and a factor that could focus the projects and interests. We succeeded in turning Bulgaria's official position into this factor that will focus the development of projects related to transportation through the region. The Sofia declaration of the Balkan meeting reflects the agreement on creating precisely in Sofia a Center on Developing Infrastructure in Southeast Europe. This is something very valuable from the viewpoint of attracting investments to Bulgaria. It is up to us whether we would be able to utilize this and become the center of a new boom in the development of infrastructure, something that would be of great benefit to our country. [passage omitted]

Bulgaria: Videnov Briefs Socialists on Pirinski Campaign*AU2907171396 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 29 Jul 96*

[Report by Lili Yancheva]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the recommendation of the BSP Supreme Council, the Sofia regional organization of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] held a conference this evening, in which Prime Minister Zhan Videnov took part.

The presidential campaign opened with attacks against the Left's Pirinski-Marazov candidate team. Zhan Videnov said in his analysis of the political situation in the country before the elections. In his view, three aspects are important: Pirinski and Marazov unite the Socialists, and this makes them the strongest team of candidates; the other candidates are weighing the likelihood of losing and, therefore, are determined not to permit the normal participation of Pirinski and Marazov in the elections; and the Constitutional Court decision is a fact

that confirms this. The presidential election campaign has become the motive for attempts to insinuate the possibility of a state of emergency, Videnov said in his summing up.

At this evening's conference, Zhan Videnov will brief his colleagues on the measures for the financial stabilization of the country and on the course of the structural reform, which will be discussed at the plenum of the BSP Supreme Council to be held on 31 July.

Bulgaria: UK Defense Secretary Portillo Arrives

AU3007093696 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 30 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] On 30 July, Michael Portillo, UK secretary of state for defense, arrived in Bulgaria on a two-day visit at the invitation of Bulgarian Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov.

Developing bilateral military contacts is the previously agreed topic of the talks.

Upon his arrival in Sofia, Michael Portillo declared that the prospects of developing bilateral cooperation are good, and expressed the hope that after his visit and the upcoming talks with the prime minister, the minister of foreign affairs, and the president the possibilities of cooperation will expand even further.

A meeting is now taking place between the UK guest and Minister Pavlov. This evening he and Mr. Portillo will lecture at the Sheraton Hotel, an event organized by Bulgaria's Atlantic Club.

Mr. Portillo arrived in our country from Bucharest, where he signed military agreements with Romania, and conducted talks in which he was briefed on Romania's willingness to join NATO. After Bulgaria he will visit Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and Slovenia.

Bulgaria: Russian Arms Seen as 'Vital Breath of Oxygen'

AU3007081196 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 27 Jul 96 p 9

[Report by Captain Second Class Atanas Panayotov: "First Delivery of Military Equipment for Bulgarian Army After 1989 Is a Fact"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Finally, the implementation began on the agreement that was signed 13 months ago between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Bulgaria, on the delivery—free of charge—of 100 T-72 tanks and 100-IP armored carriers. On 22 July the "Pliska" ship, sailing under the Bulgarian flag, delivered

to Varna the first 25 tanks and 50 armored carriers. [passage omitted]

The tanks and armored cars will not be repaired, as some dailies reported, but will only be subjected to repair checks at the Khan Krum (Turgovishte) and Ovech (Provadiya) military enterprises. They will then be distributed to various military units, while an analogous number of old tanks and armored cars will be withdrawn. Most of the equipment we received has been modernized to various degrees during the period of 1985-90, and indeed, one half of the tanks have traveled up to 1,000 kilometers, and the rest—up to 3,000 km; the international requirement for intermediate repairs is 14,000 km. However, the fact that international experts continue to consider the T-72 a better tank than the U.S. M-60 and the German Leopard is even more important.

All this did not prevent colleagues from various media to willingly or unwillingly try to belittle the importance of the event or even distort it. This is something we cannot ignore. "Strategists" claim that the donation of 200 pieces of military equipment is an attempt to direct our military-political orientation toward Moscow. This is a naive hypothesis, because if Moscow wanted to achieve that in this manner, it could have unloaded a mountain of combat tanks and air force and naval equipment that it does not need. In the final analysis, with the Russian aid we will renew only 6 percent of our tanks and 5 percent of our armored carriers. [passage omitted]

The position of the Council of Ministers was expressed in the speech of Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov at the ceremony of the arrival of the Russian military equipment. He described the free-of-charge delivery of the equipment "not only as an expression of good will, but also as a willingness on the part of the Russian Federation's Council of Ministers to render Bulgaria real aid during the difficult period our country is experiencing along the road to democracy and market economy. This has a great value for us under the conditions of imbalance in the region's military potentials that has been created." To this, we also must add the answer of Minister Pavlov regarding the military equipment that is expected also from Belarus: "The talks are continuing, and we hope to succeed."

In conclusion, I dare to summarize all this in the following manner: The Bulgarian Army was granted a vital breath of oxygen. This is not the much expected life-saving remedy, but it is an event, which we must respect as a matter of elementary ethics, and value both Russia's gesture and the efforts of the Council of Ministers and the General Staff to maintain the combat readiness of the Bulgarian Army within reasonable

limits under the conditions of the current chaos. As far as the incompetent and malicious articles are concerned, we must remind their authors of the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN motto, which has been tested by time: "The Facts Are Sacred, the Commentaries Are Free." Who knows why in our still fragile democracy, only the second part of this golden rule is being respected.

Bulgaria: U.S. Firm To Sample Reactor Shell Metal
AU3007111596 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 27 Aug 96
p 6

[Article by Vesela Vaneva: "Six Specimens of Metal From the No. 1 Reactor Unit at the Kozloduy Nuclear Plant Will Be Taken in Mid-August"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The testing of the metal of the shell of the No. 1 Reactor Unit at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant will begin in mid-August, Yanko Yanev, chairman of the Committee for Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, has told TRUD. After 10 August Inotec, a subsidiary of the U.S. Westinghouse Company, will take six specimens from the inner wall of the shell of our oldest nuclear reactor. The 9-mm thick radioactive metal specimens will be shipped to Moscow for examination at the Kurchatov Institute under the supervision of Siemens.

The analyses should show whether the reactor can continue to operate safely in the future, or whether the qualities of the metal have to be restored by heat treatment in a portable electric furnace. The EU Commission agreed to provide funds to pay for the operation, if the reactor requires such heat treatment, which costs over \$1.5 million.

The final results of the tests under the program for the No. 1 Reactor will be known around Christmas. The National Electricity Company has not included the No. 1 Reactor in its national energy plan for the coming autumn and winter, so the results of the reactor tests will not affect electricity supplies.

Bulgaria: Bomb Hoaxes at 3 Party Headquarters in Sofia

AU2707164396 Paris AFP in English
1618 GMT 27 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sofia, July 27 (AFP)—Three Bulgarian political parties have been targeted in false bomb alerts, including the ruling Socialist Party, Bulgarian radio reported Saturday.

The two other false alarms Friday evening targeted the offices of the opposition anticommunist Union of Democratic Forces (UFD) and the Movement for Rights and Freedom, the radio said.

Police have arrested a suspect, named as Ilia Petrov, 40, in all three alarms who said he wanted to "provoke the authorities" into stepping up their crime-fighting efforts.

A wave of false bomb alerts has swept across Bulgaria since a huge bomb blast in central Sofia 10 days ago that seriously damaged about 15 shops.

Six false alarms were recorded last Tuesday [23 July] and Wednesday in Sofia, including one by a 10-year-old boy.

Czech Republic: Intelligence Supervision Under Bratinka Viewed

AU3007134596 *Prague RESPEKT in Czech*
No 31 29 Jul-4 Aug p 4

[Article by Jaroslav Spurny: "The Difficult Task of Minister Bratinka"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A difficult task awaits Minister Pavel Bratinka, the new head of the Council for Coordination of the Intelligence Services: To give some meaning to the institution, at the helm of which he suddenly appeared. In specific terms, this means that Bratinka must come with a proposal in the near future—what the Council is to decide and who is to sit on it. The new minister must then also deal with his powers regarding the two intelligence services that are not subordinated to him. Finally, he should answer the question of who will be authorized, and how, to supervise these services. The simplest item on the agenda will probably be the coalition agreement regarding the management of the services: according to corridor rumors, no changes will take place in the posts.

The Old-New Directors

In the past electoral term, Kalvoda's Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] claimed the post of the director of the Security Information Service [BIS], and this party also was the leading coalition critic of the work of Stanislav Devaty. The appointment of Bratinka as head of the Council logically means that the ODA has lost its claim. The People's Party cannot entertain any hopes either: The Military Defense Intelligence (VOZ) is subordinated to "their" Defense Ministry, and it is impossible for one party to control both military and civilian counterintelligence. Hence, the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] will have the main voice in selecting the person who will head the BIS in the upcoming years. Moreover, according to experts in the behind-the-scenes talks, it seems that Stanislav Devaty will remain in the top office. The support of President Havel allegedly helped him as well.

Civilian intelligence (UZSI), subordinated to Interior Minister Jan Ruml, remains outside the attention of both media and public. It has been chaired by Oldrich Cerny for five years now. No one has ever strongly criticized his work, and Ruml has already made it clear that there is no reason for a staff change here. Military intelligence is commanded by General Radovan Prochazka. He has repeatedly embarrassed the Foreign Ministry abroad by his not very friendly attitude to Germany—but these disputes are forgotten, and nobody questions the general's position—perhaps also because he will soon retire, and no longer has much impact

on the work of the service. Military intelligence is in fact controlled by Prochazka's two deputies: Jiri Ruzek (head of the counterespionage—VOZ) and Petr Pelc (head of intelligence). When the general retires, Ruzek should take his post and the post of the VOZ head should be, according to our sources, assumed by Miroslav Kvsnak, former commander of the Rapid Deployment Unit at the Interior Ministry.

Party Interests

When Deputy Prime Minister Kalvoda accused the BIS in January of last year of "spying on political parties," Devaty's service became a burning issue on the agenda of the cabinet meetings. The fact was mostly dealt with that the BIS is subordinated to the government as a collective body, i.e., in fact, to no one. The defense, interior, and foreign deputy ministers were sitting on the still existing Council for the Coordination of Intelligence Services as did the bosses of the services, and a Castle representative, and it was headed by Prime Minister Klaus. The Council was meeting once or twice a year, did not coordinate anything, and did not decide anything. So, in a way a collective motion was made in the cabinet that a new "representative" institution be formed—Council for Intelligence Activities. It was to consist of five ministers and the prime minister, and its task was "to define priorities of the operation of the services by means of interpretation of their legal jurisdiction." The motion did not pass last April—the ODS and the People's Party wanted in the statutes only the power "to request from the secret services information, reports, explanations." In the ODA concept, however, it was, above all, an office that had the right to inspect the services at any time at its discretion. The remainder of the cabinet refused this, and in 15 months—until Bratinka's appointment—nothing new happened. The old Council for Coordination met only once during this time.

The law approved two years ago, which deals with the existence of secret services, states that their work is supervised by the government and the parliament. The manner of supervision by the parliament should have been specified by another law. Because the government could not get going on its preparation, two ODA deputies, Vladimir Suman and Oldrich Kuzilek, took the initiative. According to their project, a three-member commission "composed of citizens beyond reproach," appointed by the president, was to become the supreme supervisory body. This alternative was brushed aside, however, by the parliament still before the elections.

So, over the next electoral term, Bratinka should disentangle the knots of mutual personal relations, unfinished

bills, confused jurisdictions, and even more confused management of the services, tied by the political interests of individual parties. Nevertheless, the experts do not consider his appearance on the scene the best beginning. The new minister began his work by a struggle for new, "classified" offices, and although he sits in the cabinet without portfolio (i.e., without his own sector), he managed to get a deputy. He is a failed ODA candidate for a parliament seat, Viktor Dobal.

Czech Republic: Basta as Security Service Monitor Discussed

AU3007123896 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES
in Czech 30 Jul 96 p 10

[Commentary by Martin Schmarcz: "Supervision of the Security Information Service Is Not for Spies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] While the post of the chief of the secret service supervisory body rightly belongs to the opposition, the choice of the Social Democrat Basta is the least fortunate solution. The former deputy director of federal counterintelligence avails himself of a wealth of experience in the field, but it is precisely this fact, as well as Basta's avid penchant for intelligence games, that cast doubt in advance on his impartiality and independence, qualities that are indispensable in the performance of this post.

The monitoring of secret services is a democratic necessity. However, it is necessary to clearly distinguish between roles. The parliamentary commission's assignment is to protect the citizen against the possible willfulness of spies, not to manage them. The latter is the government's jurisdiction and concern.

The body tasked with monitoring the Security Information Service [BIS] should be headed by a personality whose professional interests are human rights and who

maintains a skeptical distance from secret services. Discretion should prevail in him or her over the curiosity of an intelligence officer. It should be a person from outside the intelligence community, an impartial judge with the prerequisite to act without personal bias.

Alas, Basta is a man whose judgment is hopelessly blurred by the insider's perspective. He was deputy chief of the secret service, which he was forced to leave under humiliating circumstances, and based his subsequent political career on trumpeting shocking and at times incredible intimate disclosures from the intelligence kitchen.

Basta's almost manic obsession with secret services and his burning desire to stun everyone with intelligence expertise might perhaps make him a promising author of spy thrillers. However, this is an absolutely unsuitable qualification for the chief of a parliamentary supervisory body.

We would probably be asking too much of the MPs overseeing the secret services if we wanted them to have legal qualifications and not to be parliamentary novices, as is the common practice elsewhere. If, however, the consensus was reached that this is not a job for extremists (Republican MP Vik was not elected into the commission), the rule should also apply that there should be no admittance for unacknowledged spies.

Secret services should be under supervision for the benefit of citizens. In the case of Basta, however, one can legitimately fear that he will use the supervision of secret services to satisfy his unfulfilled personal and political ambitions. To the detriment of everyone, Lidovy Dum [People's House; headquarters of the Czech Social Democratic Party] did not take these risks into consideration.

Slovakia: Daily Comments on U.S. Aid for NATO Hopefuls

AU3007075496 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA
in Slovak 27 Jul 96 p 3

[Commentary by Peter Janosik: "They Pull Strings Behind the Scenes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Reactions are still coming this week to German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's statement that conditions in Slovakia are not satisfactory at present for quick entry into the EU. Was the timing of his statement, which coincided with the 4th anniversary of the Slovak National Council's proclamation of the Declaration on Sovereignty of the Slovak Republic, just an accident? It is, in fact, the sum total of the work the opposition has done "for us" abroad.

No matter how hard the opposition is trying to play first fiddle in the Slovak political system, it is failing. Nevertheless, it is quite successfully defaming the Republic abroad, from where we constantly hear voices discussing our incorrect orientation. The critics of the government's politics cry enthusiastically: You missed the first train to Europe, you wasted an historic chance. Well, it is not the best idea to catch the first express train if "we have not finished packing." Moreover, Europe does not intend to move to another continent. On the contrary, it is becoming ever more aware of our existence in its middle. Although this awareness has been mostly expressed as criticism, it is there. It does not matter that the decision about our image has not yet been made.

Initially, Europe ignored the new Slovak Republic. Later it reproached Slovakia for its "communist" elements. But when Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and the Czech Republic favored the left wing in their elections, we became a thorn in its side for our allegedly dictatorial methods. As if we were the exotic and literally dictatorial Burma, which, despite its political system and criticism from the West, was embraced by the association of Asian countries, ASEAN [Association of Southeast Asian Nations] (a region that is developing very rapidly in the economic sense). We are simply a country with a "weak voice."

It seems that taking our concerns abroad has become our "national sport." The Ancient Greeks had a saying about this: Hic Rhodos, hic salta! This is your native Rhodes, show us what you can do! The opposition, which is a priori troubled by the very existence of the independent Slovak state, is only performing outside "Rhodes." It is not the ambition of most of the opposition to perfect the work of the state but to attempt its liquidation.

Kohl's doubts regarding the present development in Slovakia have been projected into an evaluation of our chances for admission into the North Atlantic Alliance. On Tuesday the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress voted on a bill to accelerate the eastward expansion of NATO and approved with a two-thirds majority financial assistance worth \$60 million for the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland. These funds are to help the three membership hopefuls to join the North Atlantic Alliance. Slovakia was not discussed at this time, but the otherwise so favored Slovenia was not discussed, either. Prague, for instance, is of the opinion that for the Czech Republic, Slovakia's entrance into the EU is more important than its joining NATO, which even some European countries with democratic traditions, like Austria or Finland, hesitate to enter. The topic of NATO would not even have been discussed in Austria a year ago, and even now, the debates on neutrality have been conducted like a ping pong match.

Regardless of these views, our interest in joining the European and North Atlantic structures continues. This is confirmed by our latest endeavors to subsequently lobby the U.S. Congress. The state gets its power from the citizens and must always be sovereign. It is not enough that we no longer have foreign troops here as we did in the past. After all, the military intervention has been replaced today by other economic forms that test the declared sovereignty.

Slovakia: Sitek Views Army Readiness for NATO Integration

AU2907142996 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA
in Slovak 27 Jul 96 p 3

[Interview with Slovak Defense Minister Jan Sitek by Peter Valo; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] The U.S. Congress has approved financial resources to help Hungary, Poland, and the Czech Republic integrate into NATO. Could it be that the Slovak Army is not regarded as equal in the United States? We asked Defense Minister Jan Sitek what about this.

[Sitek] I dare say that our results do not lag behind the results of those three armies in any way. On the contrary, the Defense Ministry is implementing our program for NATO entry. We are dealing with all issues with full responsibility. The professionalism of our soldiers is borne out not only by their activity in peacekeeping forces or by the references of military experts from NATO countries who have visited us, but also by the results of joint exercises with soldiers from NATO armies.

[Valo] Could you be more specific about these results?

[Sitek] Most recently, professionals from 29 armies participated in a competition of reconnaissance patrols in Austria. For the second time in a row, first place went to the five-member patrol from the 1st battalion of the 1st Army Corps, made up of Major Milan Pova, First Lieutenant Vladimir Zubr, Sergeant Major Anton Kontra, First Lieutenant Csaba Kadar, and Lieutenant Patrick Zitnik. If I were to name everyone who deserves appreciation, we would need more than one newspaper page.

[Valo] There is talk that there have been a considerable number of departures from the Army.

[Sitek] The departures have been motivated primarily by information that career soldiers will lose certain benefits, but the opposite is true. Bills concerning career soldiers have been prepared for discussion in the government's Legislative Council. All the guarantees are in them. The Army's status in the state will even be accentuated. The pertinent legislation should go into effect on 1 January of next year.

[Valo] According to the concept of building the Army until the year 2000, the modernization of the Slovak Army should start next year. What will this modernization bring Slovak companies?

[Sitek] The money that we will receive for the Army's modernization will, of course, be invested in companies, which will bring about their recovery. I will mention just one example. Last year we began cooperation with Tesla Liptovsky Hradok and with the firm Alcatel. We bought digital telephone exchanges from this factory. The result? We maintained employment in the region and in the factory because we are convinced that the telephone exchanges from Liptovsky Hradok are competitive. It is one of the few thriving electronics factories, thanks to orders from the defense department.

[Valo] For our economy to advance, we will need heavy engineering.

[Sitek] The Defense Ministry is devoting considerable attention to reviving heavy engineering. We have shown foreign visitors the potential of our production and of our combat equipment. Our mine-clearing mechanisms are beginning to assert themselves in the world. The IDEE '96 exhibition will be held in Trencin on 5 October. It will be attended by the defense ministers of several countries and by firms manufacturing special equipment. What we can offer there will be competitive in the world. The last EUROSATORY '96 military exhibition in Paris confirmed that, too.

[Valo] The military tests on the Zuzana [howitzer] and Moderna [tank] have not been completed yet.

[Sitek] The company tests will start on 15 August, and the Army tests must be completed by the end of the year. These tests are the conditions for introducing these weapons systems into our own Army. Selling weapons that are not used by one's own Army is impossible. Competition in the world is tough. Each month of delay can spoil business deals, not to mention the loss of jobs.

[Valo] Can the Defense Ministry expedite matters?

[Sitek] Our research institutes cooperate in development. Army representatives are present during the control process and when taking over equipment, but unfortunately our ministry does not manage the production process itself.

Slovakia: International Perception of Country Viewed

*AU2507164696 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
25 Jul 96 p 4*

[Commentary by Vladimir Jancura: "How the World Sees Us"]

[FBIS Translated Text] While some people here claim that Budapest fell into disfavor with Washington following the Hungarian-Hungarian summit, the U.S. Congress is releasing financial aid for Hungary—for Hungary yes, but for Slovakia no. Millions of dollars will expedite the preparations of the NATO-membership hopefuls. In the meantime, our government politicians are probably busy, mostly with the "cruel raid of the ancient Magyars" into the Carpathian valley, because allegedly it is something that "even after 1,100 years is almost genetically encoded." (J. Slota) So how is it possible that their posterity, the "Modern Magyars," enjoy the trust of the powers and we do not? Vladimir Meciar is explaining to both foreign reporters and domestic television audiences that the Western powers are still unclear about the future arrangement of Europe—whom from the East they will accept and whom they will reject. In the meantime, Helmut Kohl sends a message from Vienna to Bratislava that given the present situation, Slovakia does not satisfy the conditions for joining the EU. Ivan Gasparovic answers the federal chancellor from the Sovereignty bonfire: "To declare today...that conditions here are deteriorating and that the cause of it is Prime Minister Meciar is a statement that makes one smile." From the festive bonfire, and the navel of Europe on top of it, the world looks like a button. The question is how the world sees us! Could it be that they do not care?

Slovakia: Defense Minister's Statement on Security Objectives

AU2907134896 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 29 Jul 96 pp 1,2

[Statement made by Slovak Defense Minister Jan Sitek during a visit to the HOSPODARSKE NOVINY editorial office on 25 July: "Slovakia's Defense Doctrine"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Slovak Republic, as a sovereign democratic state, has, since its establishment, viewed guaranteeing national security as a task of primary existential significance. The process of guaranteeing national security has evolved from the Slovak Republic Constitution; according to it, the acknowledged process for the defense policy sphere was reflected in the Slovak Republic Defense Doctrine approved by the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NR SR] on 30 June 1994. The Defense Doctrine is a long-term security policy document specific to the period of the Slovak Republic's participation in the Partnership for Peace program. Within the framework of this program, the main objective of defense and military cooperation is to achieve a level of compatibility and interoperability for the Slovak Army that will guarantee effective and problem-free cooperation with NATO and its member countries and future incorporation into its military structures. At present, the main emphasis is being placed on achieving the stipulated level of standardization given the forces and resources earmarked for the Slovak Army. We anticipate that the extension of the standardization process to other units and regiments in the Slovak Army will commence in the near future.

A document entitled "The Basic Objectives and Principles for the Slovak Republic's National Security" was adopted in the NR SR in June 1996 to improve the transparency of policy in the national security sphere. This document deals systematically with the issue of state security and is a suitable means for presenting the Slovak Republic's security interests to the population at home and abroad. Among other things, our national interest is defined in it as follows: It is in the national interest of the Slovak Republic to guarantee its sovereignty, territorial integrity, the inviolability of its borders, security, economic prosperity, social stability, and international recognition. It intends to realize its national interest as a full-fledged member of the community of advanced European democratic states. They are united by their common cultural heritage and the similarity of their historical fates as well as the common values of a pluralist democracy, a law-governed state, a socially oriented market economy, human rights, and civil liberties.

Some of the limiting factors of a state's capability for defense are human resources, the number of personnel, and, especially, the quality of military personnel. This is amplified by the need to fulfill the tasks associated with providing for the peacekeeping missions and for the Slovak Republic's rapprochement with the European and Transatlantic structures and also by the complexity of the weapons systems, the operation of which is being insufficiently mastered in the shortened period of basic military service. A way out of this situation lies in regulated professionalization. The experiences of the other transforming states in Central Europe, and also of many advanced Western countries, confirm this trend. We are establishing the rapid deployment brigade as the first professional unit in the Slovak Army; the level of its professionalization has reached 77.4 percent.

From a long-term point of view, after the year 2000, we envisage the gradual professionalization of the Slovak Army to 50-60 percent, while maintaining general conscription.

The current state of professionalization within the Slovak Defense Ministry is 32.3 percent.

Slovakia: Defense Minister Discusses Arms Industry

AU2607154896 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 26 Jul 96 pp 1-2

[Interview with Slovak Defense Minister Jan Sitek by HOSPODARSKE NOVINY Chief Editor Peter Kasalovsky, in Bratislava on 25 July: "Situation of the Arms Industry"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kasalovsky] For us to correctly understand the present situation of the arms industry in the Slovak Republic, it would be useful to call to mind some of the factors that have had an influence on it.

[Sitek] In my opinion, the factors that played the main role were the following:

—Structure. The development base (Konstrukta Trencin company) and the production base (Dubnica, Martin, Detva) centered on the production of heavy artillery and tank equipment, armored personnel carriers, sappers' equipment, and large-caliber ammunition (Snina, Strazske, Dubnica). We did not manufacture small arms and ammunition for them, electronics, aircraft and radars, and gunpowder.

—Conversion. So much has been written on this issue that I will only briefly state that:

- it damaged the arms industry the most,
- production was discontinued overnight,

—work in progress was halted and markets lost, resulting in enormous economic damage and a high rate of unemployment and affecting the social sphere,

—designers and specialists in metallurgical and engineering professions have left (advertisements by companies from the Czech Republic appearing in *TRENCIANSKE NOVINY*, for example, offer these specialists hourly wages of 52-60 Czech korunas [Kc], plus commuting expenses of Kc200 per day).

—The worldwide decline of interest in weaponry and arms equipment, especially heavy equipment, adversely affects our commercial activities.

—Our own mistakes: The fragmentation of production companies into limited liability companies, indecisiveness of management bodies, mutual competition on foreign markets in sales of military equipment.

[Kasalovsky] That was the past. But what is the situation now?

[Sitek] One of the characteristic features of our mentality is that Slovaks can cope with even negative problems. This is borne out by the fact that, despite the aforementioned harmful influences, the arms industry is starting to stand on its feet again and to achieve remarkable results.

The DV-2 jet aircraft engine from Povazska Bystrica has world-class specifications and there is interest in it in the world.

The mine-clearing equipment from Krupina and Tisovec acquitted itself well in the difficult conditions of former Yugoslavia and is beginning to break into foreign markets.

Our method of modernizing the T-72 tank, the T-72 MODERNA (from Martin and Dubnica) is considered by experts to be the best.

The tactical and technical specifications of our 155-mm self-propelled ZUZANA howitzer from Dubnica are comparable with similar weapons of world-famous firms.

Sappers' equipment from Detva, Krupina, and Tisovec, heavy trucks from Banovce, and also heavy tank trucks from Kosice are of European standard.

The development and production of hand-held arms, and of ammunition for them, is starting at Povazska Bystrica and production of communications equipment is starting at Liptovsky Hradok.

[Kasalovsky] A major role in the development and production of military equipment is played by the Army of the Slovak Republic. How is this role reflected in practice?

[Sitek] The development institutes in Liptovsky Mikulas and Zahori cooperate in the development of military equipment. Representatives of military administrations are present during the production of military equipment in manufacturing plants, during quality control of the technological process, and while taking over the equipment. If the Army did not take over military equipment, its export would be practically impossible. Each piece of military equipment is subjected to military tests in difficult field and weather conditions by military service crews and a commission. Only on the basis of further results is it possible to purchase equipment for the Army of the Slovak Republic [ASR] and introduce it into its weaponry. At present, this applies to the ZUZANA and MODERNA projects.

ASR experts present military equipment to potential foreign customers and assist thus in our commercial activities.

Our information media, too, can provide big, though indirect, assistance to the arms industry by informing about it truthfully, competently, and objectively. By doing so, they can substantially limit disruptive influences and give the arms industry the peace and time it needs for its steps to lead to a successful start.

Slovakia: Slovak Sappers Build New Bridge in Vukovar

AU2907144596 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 29 Jul 96 p 6

[TASR report: "Activities of the Slovak Sappers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vukovar—The bridge across the Bobocki canal in the outskirts of Vukovar was closed for only 12 hours instead of the scheduled two days. The members of the Slovak sappers unit have gained recognition for this. In record time last Saturday [27 July], our sappers first dismantled the bridge's iron structure, which had been destroyed during the earlier military operations, and then constructed a new 21-meter long bridge from the MS [mostna suprava] bridge-building kit. This is the 34th bridge that the Slovak sappers have built during their more than three-year-long tour of duty in the Balkans.

Slovakia: 'Aide Memoire' on Inequity of Ethnic Autonomy

LD2707163596 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 26 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] A few days ago, the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs handed an aide memoire to several countries in connection with the so-called Hungarian-Hungarian Conference. In this connection, we have asked [Foreign Ministry] State Secretary Jozef Sestak for a more detailed explanation. [On 24 and 25 July, Jozef Sestak presented an aide memoire to the

ambassadors of EU countries and of the United States and Russia in response to the joint statement issued by the participants in the conference entitled: Hungary and Hungarians Beyond the Borders].

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] State Secretary, a group of deputies from the Hungarian parliament came to Bratislava today. A few days ago our ministry of foreign affairs handed over an aide memoire to representatives of several countries in connection with the so-called Hungarian-Hungarian Conference. What does all this mean?

[Sestak] It is a common form of communication with governments and international institutions. We decided to draft the aide memoire with a cool head following the adoption of a government statement. In fact, we have based the aide memoire on the government statement. However, we wanted to explain to the international community in a very matter-of-fact and sober manner why we are so deeply concerned, what this is all about and where the danger lies for the stability, democracy and prosperity of Central Europe.

The first reactions we have received are encouraging because the absolute majority of them seem to be on our side in that autonomy based on ethnic principle is simply unacceptable to Europe.

To put it simply, someone has grossly overstepped the mark. The other side should admit one way or another that it went too far. We expect the international community to take a responsible and, I would say, a serious position on the matter.

On the other hand, as you can see, we are not trying either to dramatize the situation or create hysteria over it. However, we simply cannot accept that nothing has happened. Something has happened. We have our own national and state interests to defend, as a matter of principle and from a long-term point of view. We are therefore using very matter-of-fact and sober language to say that this is not the way to do things. [end recording]

Slovakia: Most Opposition Parties Support 'Aide Memoire'

AU2607172396 Bratislava SME in Slovak 6 Jul 96
p 2

[Report by "sp, rej": "Most Political Parties Assess Positively Aide Memoire Presented by Jozef Sestak to Ambassadors"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Although the contents of the aide memoire that Jozef Sestak, state secretary at the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, presented on Wednesday to the ambassadors of EU countries and, yes-

terday, also to the ambassadors of the United States and the Russian Federation in response to the joint statement issued by the participants in the "Hungary and Hungarians Beyond the Borders" conference were not yet known yesterday, the initial reactions by representatives of political parties were mostly positive. Democratic Union MP Eduard Kukan, former minister of foreign affairs, described the aide memoire as the right step. In his opinion, Slovakia should more frequently issue this kind of information within the framework of an active foreign policy, and not only as a reaction to troublesome situations after they arise. "It is important that foreign countries be informed regularly and objectively about the situation in Slovakia, not only in the sphere of ethnic minorities, but on other issues as well," he observed. Slovak National Party [SNS] Deputy Chairman Jozef Sedovic, too, assesses this course of action as correct. "It is really important to make the world understand that Hungary's course of action creates tensions in the central European region and runs counter to valid international law," he said. Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] Deputy Chairman Frantisek Miklosko recalled in this context his words following the signing of the Slovak-Hungarian treaty when he said that "this treaty gave to the Hungarians everything and the only thing they can still ask for is autonomy." He added that Vladimir Meciar signed a treaty that the Slovak side interprets as not permitting collective rights, with which the KDH agrees, but, at the same time, "this treaty directly encourages steps such as those we are witnessing today." In spite of this, Frantisek Miklosko accepts the steps taken by the Slovak Government to defend its stand on the inadmissibility of autonomy on the international forum and has therefore no objections to the state secretary's steps.

The only interviewed politician who reacted negatively to the aide memoire was Laszlo Gyurovsky, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Civic Party [MOS], who believes that this step fits into the framework of several recent Slovak diplomatic activities aimed at preventing Hungary's admission into the EU. In the West, however, such endeavors have the effect of a boomerang, according to Gyurovsky.

Slovakia: Territorial, Administrative Law Unchanged

96CH0139A Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 4 Jul 96
pp 1-2

[Article by Ivan Rajecky and Frantisek Melis: "Slovakia's Okreses With New Borders"]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Michal Kovac appeared before the deputies of the National Council of the

Slovak Republic to explain the reason for sending back the law on the territorial and administrative arrangement of Slovakia, which they approved on 22 March. He mentioned the status of Bratislava, which this law puts in conflict with the Constitution and the law on the capital of Slovakia. He emphasized that the law also significantly changes the status of Bratislava and its agencies that do the work of the government. He also pointed out the fact that people with permanent domicile in military districts will not be able to vote even in local elections without a change in the law. The joint rapporteur of the committees Jozef Rea (HZDS-RSS) [Movement for Democratic Slovakia-Farmers Party of Slovakia] recommended that the law be passed in its original version. Ivan Simko (KDH) [Christian Democratic Movement] pointed out to him during the discussion that the law does not respect the Constitution, and it is a first step toward the targeted HZDS victory in future elections and toward a change of the electoral system. The law discriminates against the Hungarian national minority, insisted Jozsef Kvarda of the Hungarian Coalition-Coexistence. In support of the president's comments on the law spoke Vladimir Baján (DU) [Democratic Union] and Milan Ftacnik (Spolocna volba-SDL) [Common Choice-Party of the Democratic Left]. His colleague in the club, Lubomir Fogas, pointed out that for the judiciary alone as much as 1.1 billion Slovak korunas would have to be spent, something the law does not even mention.

He also criticized the fact that coalition deputies are proposing to have the law go into effect on the day it is announced, whereas the president proposed the date of 1 January 1997. Because of the opposition's objection that the debate on the returned law concerns only the president's comments, the conflict was to be resolved by the parliamentary constitutional committee, which met during a long noontime recess.

Its chairman, Petr Brnák (HZDS-RSS), finally presented the position of the committee. According to it, the earlier date approved by the National Committee for the law, which the president had sent back to the Parliament for further debate, to go into effect does not contravene any law or the Constitution. In addition, the committee recommended that the National Committee keep to the principle that in the future during a repeated debate of a law sent back by the president, the discussion should

not range beyond the framework of the president's comments. The coalition approved this position by 76 deputies' votes.

This act brought about a storm of protests from the opposition, which accused Augustin Marian Husek (HZDS-RSS), the chairman of the meeting, of breaking the procedural rules of the debate. The opposition deputies told him that the parliamentary committee does not have the right to interpret the Constitution, and that Roman Kovac (DU) presented a procedural proposal that should have been voted on before the meeting of the constitutional committee. After a sharp exchange of views between both camps another recess followed. Afterwards, voting took place on Kovac's proposal on procedure, which did not pass when of the 129 deputies 59 voted yea, 40 nay, 28 abstained, and two deputies did not vote. Simek's proposal that this issue should be taken up by the committee for the protection of the environment did not pass either. The last speaker in the debate was Ludovit Cernak (DU), who supported the president's proposal to have the law go into effect on 1 January 1997, and added one of his own, that the town of Nova Bana instead of Zarnovica be made the district seat. Following him, there was another recess for a deliberation by the political body.

In the voting on the president's proposals for changes not one was approved. Similarly unsuccessful with their proposals were the opposition deputies. On the other hand, of the 82 deputies, 75 voted for Jozef Rea's proposal to have the law go into effect on the day it is announced. For the final voting, 92 deputies presented themselves. To again approve the law as a whole, 78 deputies voted in favor, seven voted against, and seven abstained. The deputies then returned to the draft resolution on the closing account of the Slovak Republic for 1995, not approved on Tuesday evening, for which 79 of the 90 deputies voted in favor and 11 against. The National Committee then debated the law on the organization of local governments and changes and additions to some laws. The law determines the status, functions, and powers of the kraj and okres administrative bodies that will carry out government functions in the new territorial units of the Slovak Republic. At the time of going to press, the debate was still under way.

Hungary: Solana on NATO Expansion, Russian Attitude

LD2907215496 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1932 GMT 29 Jul 96

[Interview with NATO Secretary General Javier Solana by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded; Solana in English with superimposed Hungarian translation; from the "Panorama" program]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Correspondent] Russia's opposition to NATO's expansion seems to have softened recently. How do you view NATO's expansion prospects with regard to Russia's attitude?

[Solana] There is no doubt that we have to open NATO to other countries when we are building a new European security system. However, we have to involve Russia in the building of this new security system. We would like to achieve the best possible accord with the country that undoubtedly has a very significant role regarding our continent's stability.

[Correspondent] Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeniy Primakov recently told THE NEW YORK TIMES that NATO's expansion would be acceptable to Russia, but that a certain compromise would be necessary. What sort of compromise do you think he meant?

[Solana] Decisions regarding NATO's enlargement will be made by the 16 member states. However, if that is possible, we are ready to consider certain Russian concerns. [passage omitted] I am certain that we will find a mechanism which will facilitate increasing the continent's security system in a way that we will open up NATO and establish closer ties with Russia at the same time.

[Correspondent] A few days ago, the U.S. House of Representatives named three countries—Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary—as those which the United States is ready to support with \$60 million to assist their efforts to meet NATO's terms. Do you think it means the three countries to be admitted to NATO in the first round have been selected?

[Solana] I, as NATO secretary general, can only say that we have been talking to several countries. These individual consultations will be concluded by the end of the year. Then we will assess the situation and reach a final decision. I cannot give a date for that, probably shortly after the end of the year. I cannot yet say which countries will be invited to join NATO in the first round. However, I would like to refer to the Partnership for Peace [PFP] Scheme, the basic structure of cooperation between NATO members and non-members. [passage omitted]

Perhaps there will be countries that will be invited to join NATO before others, but the door will stay open in order to maintain close ties with the others, too, in the framework of the PFP scheme.

[Correspondent] Some countries are worried that the applicants will be classified into two groups. How will NATO reassure these countries?

[Solana] As I said earlier, we have to establish a European security system without dividing lines. We will be able to remove the worries and reservations of any country which is ready to participate in building this new security system.

[Correspondent] There is a problem in connection with Hungary, namely that it has no common border with any NATO member. How can this difficulty be resolved?

[Solana] This is a practical question. If there is political will, we will undoubtedly resolve it.

Hungary: FIDESZ Expert Interviewed on Army Reform

AU3007093596 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Jul 96 pp 1, 11

[Interview with retired General Bela Gyuricza, FIDESZ-MPP deputy, by Erzsebet J. Kun and Peter Matyuc; place and date not given: "The Hungarian Army Is the World's Most Expensive—Bela Gyuricza on the Reform of Military Forces"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In an interview with NEPSZABADSAG, retired General Bela Gyuricza, parliamentary deputy of the Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party (FIDESZ-MPP), has said that according to a large number of regular soldiers and opposition party experts, the Army is facing collapse, the ability to use it in war is in danger, and the reform of the military force that is being implemented on the basis of financial considerations should be stopped. Gyuricza recently made a proposal to the prime minister and the parliamentary groups' leaders to start talks on establishing a defense policy based on consensus.

[Gyuricza] The Army's reform was among the election promises of the government of the Hungarian Socialist Party and the Alliance of Free Democrats, but it was not preceded by an overall professional and scientific assessment of the prevailing conditions. At the same time, experts in the field of military science and researchers at the foreign affairs, defense, security policy, and national security background institutions have formulated their ideas on what kind of army we would need at the turn of the century. The coalition's parties did not take these scientifically based proposals into consideration, and instead a staff reduction was started based entirely on financial considerations.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What proposals of the military scientists were not taken into consideration by the politicians in their draft military reform?

[Gyuricza] The representatives of politics and science agreed on the long-term goals of the military reform, namely, establishing a modern, small, professional army of 40-60,000 troops supplemented by units for territorial defense organized from conscripts. According to the researchers, only an overall reform strategy can meet the future challenges, but the politicians have only assessed the financial possibilities, ignoring the economic, social, and last but not least, cultural requirements of the reform. For this reason, the six, then seven-party defense policy consensus which had existed since the change of the regime broke up after the parliamentary decision passed last year. We still agree that in the current political situation Hungary does not need to expect a traditional armed conflict, for example, an attack on Hungary by a country with the intention of gaining territory. We cannot discard extreme nationalism coming to power in our region and, as a consequence, an increased threat. However, new sources of danger—for example, the arms smuggling that is becoming worldwide, including nuclear material being exported and imported, human smuggling, and the struggle against illegal migration—were not taken into account in the draft. A nation cannot deprive itself of its defense, an independent and combat-worthy army, but this is what is happening in Hungary. NATO does not accept inefficient armies, either, just as we cannot join the European Union without reforming the economy. In addition, in the four to five years of transition while the short-term goals of the military reform are being achieved, the possibility of mobilizing the Hungarian Army for war has become endangered, and the Army cannot even fulfill the requirements of the 1995 decision.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Could you quote some examples?

[Gyuricza] Because of fuel shortages, the air force cannot maintain the permanent aerial supervision system, the barracks commanders have to find ways to ensure that soldiers can bathe once a week, and the Army has unpaid bills. The Hungarian Army is the world's most expensive army, because the soldiers are conscripted for 12 months but only participate in training for four to six days a month, or perhaps for eight to 10 days at especially important units, and the rest of the time they stay in the barracks.

[NEPSZABADSAG] As you have said, the money shortage is the reason for the lack of real reforms. According to the FIDESZ, how much would have to be spent on the Army annually for it to preserve its ability to function?

[Gyuricza] The Army can use 0.6 percent of GDP this year. In our view, politics should take the responsibility to raise this proportion to 2 to 2.5 percent of GDP, because this is the only way to finance the transition.

At first sight, this increase might seem very much, but in our view the tasks of the armed forces and the organizations for the maintenance of order have to be defined together—at the moment, some 1.6 percent of GDP is allocated to these by the budget. The tasks of the Army, the Border Guard, civilian defense, and the other similar organizations should be ranked, and some 270 billion forints should be granted to them in such a way that the government concentrates the money that in the past was given to these organizations separately. The Hungarian Army alone would have needed a 160 billion forints budget already in 1996. From this, it would have been possible to pay the wages and dues which, according to the law on military service, will be gradually introduced by 1 January 1999, while all Army employees have to meet all obligations laid down in the law without delay.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Is this the reason you have suggested seven-party talks to be started on the reform of the military force?

[Gyuricza] It is, because we are in the last moment of the 24th hour. This is confirmed by the results of the Army trade union's signature collection, because 7,300 people joined the appeal, some 5,000 of whom also wrote down their rank, although they need not fear dismissal anymore because so many people have left the Army that staff cuts are now unnecessary. At the turn of 1995-96, almost 1,000 well-trained officers aged 30 to 40, with experience and high-level education, left the Army. At the same time, the Army had used up its reserves, the formerly frozen stocks became dangerously depleted, the Hungarian military industry diminished, and human and technical collapse happened at the same time. This is recognized by the Army's professional leaders, including the new commander, Lieutenant General Ferenc Vegh. The question is whether the political leadership can also see this.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Do you think that the coalition's representatives think in the same way?

[Gyuricza] It became clear at the Defense Committee's sessions that they also believe that the 1995 parliamentary decision on the military reform has to be changed. Last time my suggestion on seven-party talks and a defense policy based on consensus was defeated, but it was promised that the committee would return to the issue at the end of August. This process of deterioration has to be stopped before it is too late and, in my view, the Socialist and Free Democrat deputies are also well aware of this. Parliament has to reconsider the basic principles of defense and security policy, and domestic military technical developments have to be renewed by relying on the national industry and using high-level western technology at the same time.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Was it a suggestion by the FIDESZ or the Civic Alliance to start seven-party talks?

[Gyuricza] This is the FIDESZ's independent suggestion, which we sent to Prime Minister Horn and the leaders of the parliamentary groups in writing. The Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Christian Democratic People's Party have already indicated that they would support the idea, but the prime minister and the other parliamentary group leaders have not yet answered.

[NEPSZABADSAG] You have mentioned that the Army is in the 24th hour, because the current government does not want to launch an overall reform. Do you think that the opposition would be able to change this if it came to power?

[Gyuricza] It would have to! The Army cannot be further reduced, and politics also has to understand that this is a national issue rather than a simple matter of finances. The opposition parties are aware of this, and I am convinced that, coming into power, the FIDESZ's politicians for example would accept the responsibility of making decisions in connection with the Army.

[NEPSZABADSAG] In this case, would you accept the position of defense minister if asked?

[Gyuricza] If I felt I had the government's support and were able to select the experts to work with, then yes, I would.

Hungary: Number of Conscripts Continues To Fall
LD3007095896 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 0900 GMT 30 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Defense Ministry has announced that in August 1996 13,000 new conscripts, 3,500 less than in 1995, will start service in Hungary.

New conscripts may apply for financial support from local governments, while almost 14,000 conscripts, which are to be discharged at the same time, will be able to get benefit from the army. It also emerges from the ministry's report that the number of young people conscripted continues to fall. Over the past two years, their number has fallen by about 20,000.

Hungary: SZDSZ Official Comments on Competition With MSZP

AU2707183496 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 26 Jul 96 p 4

[Interview with SZDSZ Executive Chairman Tamas Bauer by Szabolcs Szereto; place and date not given: "The MSZP and the SZDSZ Are Rivals"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Szereto] After the rejection of the proposals to modify the constitution concepts, the heads of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] said

that far-reaching conclusions should be drawn from this event. What are these conclusions?

[Bauer] The fate of the constitution concepts will be decided after the summer recess. We will see then whether this constitution-formulation process can be advanced, a process whose principles were stipulated by the factions' agreement. We will see then whether we will have to draw those conclusions about the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP].

[Szereto] In case of failing to create a new constitution, would the SZDSZ take upon itself to give up the moratorium on modification of the Constitution?

[Bauer] If the process of drawing up a constitution were clearly bogged down because of the opposition, the government parties could accept with a clear conscience voting in favor of the essential modifications by making use of their two-thirds majority. If, however, this is not the case, it is far from being obvious that it is justified to make use of this two-thirds majority.

[Szereto] There is a general opinion according to which the SZDSZ took revenge on the MSZP for the vote on constitution concepts by rejecting the modification of the Parliament statute.

[Bauer] That is not true. Parliament voted on the agents' law, the increase of retirement age, and the reduction of the number of hospital beds in the last two weeks before recess, and the SZDSZ voted in favor of all these laws, just like in favor of all the major government proposals. However, the statute modification is something that, normally, should be adopted through a consensus between the government coalition and the opposition. A situation could emerge in which, with their two-thirds majority, the government parties carry out the necessary modification despite the rejections of the opposition or their departure from the parliamentary session, because the opposition often rejects any rational compromise. However, one can only accept a two-party decision if there are relations of confidence between the government parties. One week before the final vote, it seemed that there are such relations, but the failure of the constitution concept modification package created a new situation in the coalition in which the SZDSZ did not accept this joint action against the opposition.

[Szereto] Several MSZP leaders declared in recent weeks that the coalition parties would not sign an election alliance in 1998.

[Bauer] I do not find anything surprising in this, because neither party has come up with the idea of an election alliance so far. The SZDSZ intends to have a candidate in every electoral district. I think that the MSZP and SZDSZ candidates will again be the main contenders in 1998. However, all this is still far away; the main issue for us today is how the government can carry out its program in the remaining two years.

Successful governing can lay the basis of success in the elections for both parties. Therefore, a positive coalition cooperation improves the chances of both parties. Compared with the government program we worked out jointly, we still have a lot of debts to pay until 1998, even if we do have important achievements too.

[Szereto] Would you tell us what debts you have in mind?

[Bauer] In its program adopted in the summer of 1994, the government coalition promised two types of changes. On the one hand, we wanted to correct things that the previous government deteriorated, primarily in our foreign policy and economic policy. On the other hand, we promised a change in the political style. Changes have taken place in both, but far from the possible and necessary changes. Regarding its foreign policy, the government is faithful to its program: the process of joining the euro-atlantic organizations continues and we have carried out the promised change in Hungary's policy toward our neighbors. Regarding our economic policy: stabilization, convertibility, privatization of public utilities, and the continued inflow of capital are considerable achievements. At the same time, there are delays in stabilization and privatization, as well as in accelerating the investments, and it is possible that we will not be able to counterbalance the harmful consequences of this delay in the course of the present government cycle. In the coming two years, we must strive to "pay back" as much as possible from the debts, namely to start to restructure the welfare system and to accelerate the privatization of enterprises that are still owned by the government. Regarding the political style: it is a change that ideological politics has been replaced by a pragmatic governing. However, during the elections, we promised an open and predictable policy, and everyone included here the steady separation of economy and politics. The delay in the law on incompatibility shows that this has not been achieved. One who is aware of the Hungarian public life can have no doubts about the fact that the SZDSZ cannot be blamed for this. We will urge even more firmly the legislation of this incompatibility law, as well as to make the deputies' property declarations public, and to restore the honor of politics.

Hungary: Radio, TV Chairmen Fear 'Renationalization'

AU2907153996 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 29 Jul 96 pp 1, 4

[Article by Gyula Varsanyi: "Television, Radio: Renationalization?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The chairmen of the radio and television boards see the government proposal on amending the budget and media laws—published in the 26 July issue of the Collection of Decisions—as an attempt at renationalization.

Among other things, it can be read in the decision—which is in the 2000 category—that a proposal will have to be made in a law amendment to settle the remaining public dues and broadcasting fee arrears of the Hungarian Radio and Hungarian Television (according to the government's plans, the debts would be covered by the State Privatization and Asset Management Corporation and, in exchange, it would keep some of the media assets in state ownership). A proposal will also have to be made on settling the two media's budget estimates for this year and on redistributing the income from subscription fees (to Duna TV's benefit); and 2.5 billion forints will have to be allocated from the budget to partially compensate for the subscription fees of those relieved from paying it for welfare reasons.

At the same time, in order to reduce the budget costs, the No. 2199/1996 (VII.24.) Government decision prescribes that the obligation laid down in the Media Law, according to which the budget was to pay the broadcasting fee due to the Antenna Hungaria company, has to be canceled, and the loss has to be counterbalanced by easing the radio and television advertising and sponsorship conditions.

The state's obligation to supplement the operating fee (also part of the Media Law)—which replaces the subscription fee—has to be set aside. The National Radio and Television Body's [ORTT] license to settle the collection of fees has to be canceled, instead, the government has to be empowered to regulate this. In addition, the running of the account by the ORTT and the three media public foundations with the Hungarian State Treasury has to be regulated.

Gabor Gyorgy, chairman of the Radio Board of Trustees, said that the public foundation will assess the intentions evident in the government decision, among which, in his view, intentions for nationalization can also be detected. The task of the Radio Board of Trustees is to defend the radio's independence, even if it has to be defended against the government, Gyorgy noted.

Andras Kovacs, head of Television's Board of Trustees, also expressed his serious concern about the fact that the government does not want to hand over some of the media assets to the public foundations. Professional circles would see it as a serious violation of the media law if the government compelled the public media to increase their participation in the advertising market because this would hamper the launching of private channels and the strengthening of the public service.

B-H: Sarajevo-Adriatic Rail Link Reopens

AU3007113396 Paris AFP in English
1116 GMT 30 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 30 (AFP)—A train left Sarajevo railway station early Tuesday after a gap of 1,550 days caused by the Bosnian conflict, taking 250 passengers from the Bosnian capital to the Adriatic port of Ploce on the Croatian coast.

Several hundred people gathered at the railway station to see off the train, which left shortly after 10:00 a.m. (0800 GMT) for the 193 kilometre (120-mile) trip.

"Today Bosnia goes out to the sea and into the wide world," Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, who boarded the train with a number of Bosnian and international officials, said in a short ceremony before the departure.

The last train out of Sarajevo left on 2 May, 1992, for the town of Visoko, northwest of Sarajevo, barely a month after the Bosnian war erupted.

The line connecting Sarajevo to Ploce via the southern Bosnian city of Mostar was restored with aid from the European Union, the High Saudi Committee for Aid to Bosnia and the Croatian and Slovenian railway networks.

The European Union contributed more than 6.7 million Ecu (8.7 million dollars) in cash and equipment for repairs to the line damaged during Bosnia's almost four year war.

Tuesday's train is due to stop briefly in Mostar for a short ceremony to mark the opening of a new railway station in the city.

B-H: Izetbegovic Speaks at Railway Line Resumption Ceremony

AU3007112796 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 30 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Following a four-year silence and war inactivity, the train dispatcher's whistle and engine noise was heard at the Sarajevo Railroad Station today. The festive train, a harbinger of regular traffic to the south—Mostar and Ploce—which is soon to be resumed, set off exactly at 1000. The many people present were addressed by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, who said among other things the following:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] Let me greet you all at this festive and great moment for Sarajevo and Bosnia-Herzegovina. All of you here, representatives of the diplomatic corps, donors, government, and of the two categories that are certainly important for today's festivity, railway workers and soldiers. The former with their work and the latter with their fight, they both made our celebration today possible. This is the second time we have lifted a blockade from the city. When, God

help us, we open the northern side, the northern railway line, the blockade will be completely lifted.

The first time, as you know, started by opening, digging a tunnel under the airport. I believe that we are not going to wait long for this second day.

The merits of railway workers [passage indistinct] out of a pile of debris, they managed to put together trains that will travel along this railroad. They have carried out these painstaking and difficult talks and reached agreements, almost without our help, with the large number of donors that Fuad [not further identified] has just mentioned. Now that they passed this very important and serious test and performed for us this small wonder of starting the southern railroad that we almost could not believe in, I think that now we should help them with all our might, and we will do so. [end recording]

B-H: Poll Results Show Izetbegovic Most Popular Candidate

AU3007112496 Hanau NOVA BOSNA
in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jul 96 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Izetbegovic Leading for Now"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Over 60 percent of respondents in three Bosnia-Herzegovina cities would vote for Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic.

Of the 500 people polled in Sarajevo, Zenica, and Tuzla, 63 percent would vote for President Izetbegovic, who is one of eight Bosniak candidates for the B-H Presidency in September elections. Haris Silajdzic, president of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina would get 32 percent of the vote, while Sead Avdic, Ibrahim Spahic, and Fikret Abdic would get only 1.5 percent each. Candidate Hasib Salkic would get 0.5 percent of the vote, while Mirnes Ajanovic and Safet Redzepagic would not get a single vote.

B-H: Poll Assesses Popularity of Candidates, Parties

AU2907164596 Sarajevo LJILJAN in Serbo-Croatian
27-31 Jul 96 p 12

[FBIS Summary] Nedžad Latic reports on the results of a public opinion poll that LJILJAN carried out "in the last week before the onset of the electoral campaign." The poll was carried out by the weekly's correspondents in Sarajevo, Mostar, Tuzla, Zenica, Bihac, Gorazde, and in Germany and involved "over 5,000 pollees" altogether. Latic points out that the poll was conducted in the above towns and did not involve the rural population, which he admits is "the poll's shortcoming."

As he points out in the introduction, the poll was carried out in response to several earlier "sensational" telephone

polls that showed Silajdzic to be the most popular Bosnian politician.

The pollees were reportedly "mostly" Bosniaks, and many of them "remarked that they considered LJILJAN to be the mouthpiece of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA]."

The replies obtained are presented in a descriptive form, and the exact wording of the questions used is not clear from the description. The following data are published for the individual regions:

Zenica

Ethnic composition of pollees: Bosniaks 76 percent, Croats 18 percent, Serbs 6 percent.

Popularity of personalities: Alija Izetbegovic 74 percent, Kresimir Zubak 12 percent, Haris Silajdzic 12 percent, Safet Redzepagic, candidate of the Party of Economic Prosperity, 2 percent.

No party popularity figures are given.

Tuzla

Ethnic composition of pollees: Bosniaks 96 percent, Croats 6 percent.

Popularity of personalities: Izetbegovic 46.8 percent, Silajdzic 40.6 percent, Sead Avdic 9 percent, Ivo Komsic 3 percent.

Party popularity: SDA 34 percent, Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina 25.3 percent, United List 22.4 percent. According to Latic, "the Liberal Party, the Liberal Bosniak Organization, and the GDS [Civic Democratic Party] stand an equal chance [not further specified]," while "the Croatian Democratic Party [as published] won 4 percent."

Mostar

Ethnic composition of the pollees unspecified.

Popularity of personalities: Izetbegovic 63 percent, Silajdzic 36 percent. Reportedly, "the same ratio also applies to the SDA and the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Sarajevo

Ethnic composition of the pollees unspecified.

Popularity of personalities: Izetbegovic 68 percent, Silajdzic 28 percent.

Party popularity: SDA 68 percent, Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina 24 percent. Also reported as standing some chance in the elections are Mirnes Ajanovic and Kresimir Zubak.

Gorazde

Ethnic composition of the pollees unspecified. "In Gorazde, Izetbegovic and the SDA are leading with 73 percent, ahead of Silajdzic who collected 26 percent," Latic writes in the sole reference to this town.

Bihac

Ethnic composition of the pollees unspecified. According to Latic, Izetbegovic won 97 percent and the SDA 74 percent of the votes. No other data published.

"In the diaspora, the refugees will, on average, depending on the town, with an incredible 99 percent, vote for President Izetbegovic, which, at the risk of calling the poll into question, appears unlikely," Latic writes in his sole reference to the results obtained among the refugees in Germany.

The poll, Latic says, also unveils an interesting paradox that Izetbegovic is more popular than the SDA and Silajdzic is less popular than his Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Latic provides the following explanation: "First, President Izetbegovic has outgrown his party, and the people, especially the Bosniaks, do not perceive him as the party leader. To explain the phenomena of his charisma, the epithet father of the nation is being used increasingly more frequently. Second, the SDA is a party undergoing divisions. Regardless of the voters' political preference for the protagonists in the divisions, be it Zulfikarpasic or Omersoftic, this cannot remain without consequences for the party. Third, the nature of things is such that people want changes. The sheer fact that the SDA has been in power for six years in difficult political circumstances contributes to the SDA being scrutinized the most. The results are nevertheless such that it is not surprising that the SDA is encountering electoral problems at the local level and even losing power in some municipalities," Latic concludes.

B-H: Silajdzic's Party Expresses Support for UN's Steiner

AU3007075096 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian
1836 GMT 29 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 29 Jul (BETA)—Silajdzic's Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina today hailed the efforts of Michael Steiner, deputy high representative of the international community for Bosnia-Herzegovina, for "the consequent implementation of the results of the local elections in Mostar" and accused the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] of obstructing the peace process, ONASA reports.

"The tempo with which the peace agreement is implemented helps the demarcation of Bosnia-Herzegovina,

and as for the territory of the Serb entity and the so-called Croat Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, there are not even minimum conditions for the electoral presentation of parties and for holding the September elections," said Zaim Backovic, head of the list of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina for the federal assembly, at a news conference in Sarajevo.

Backovic said that the activists of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina have given up organizing the electoral campaign in the Serb Republic due to open threats and added that "they were treated similarly in Herzeg-Bosnia."

The activity of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina was made impossible also in some parts of Bosnia under the control of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, he added.

"Organized groups are removing our electoral posters, people are losing jobs, and forbidden to hold public gatherings," Backovic said and gave the example of Izet Zigic who was fired from the post of professor at Tuzla University.

Mediha Filipovic heads the list of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina for the future Chamber of Representatives, Zaim Backovic heads the list for the Federal Assembly, and Temin Dedic is candidate for the Serb entity Assembly.

Haris Silajdzic, president of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina, is candidate for member of the future three-member Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

B-H: Ganic Office Lists Attempts 'To Intimidate' Muslims

LD2807182096 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 28 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] A statement forwarded to our newsroom from the office of Ejup Ganic, vice president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, says among other things:

The office of the vice president of the federation has been informed by the officer for human rights of Canton 10 that the political and security situation in the municipality of Livno and throughout Canton 10 has deteriorated since the election results for Mostar were announced. A number of houses belonging to Bosniaks in Glamoc and Livno have been blown up over the past month. During the night of 27-28 July, a truck owned by Duran Emir and another one owned by the Muslim Merhamet-Livno charity organization were blown up. A stable owned by Hozo Pasa in the village of Veliki Kavnici and hay owned by Merhamet chairman Enes Mastalik were set on fire at the same time.

On 26 July a mosque in the village of Guber, in the municipality of Livno, was demolished and a time-bomb was planted in the shop of Esref Gurkic in Livno. An explosive device was found in the house of Alija Palic in the village of Kavlici, in the municipality of Livno at 1500 today.

The Bosniak leadership of Livno says that this is yet another attempt to intimidate the Bosniaks, particularly during the election campaign. International organizations, OSCE, the International Police Task Force, and IFOR are called on to make additional efforts and protect the most elementary human rights—the Bosniaks' right to life and to own private property in Livno and Glamoc, the statement from Ejup Ganic's office says in conclusion.

B-H: 'Sources' Say EU 'Considering' Sanctions Against Croats

AU2907194096 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 29 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Brussels, 29 July (BETA)—The European Union is considering the implementation of "substantial measures" against the Zagreb authorities and the Mostar Croats as a result of the Croat side's refusal to accept the results of the local elections and participate in the new Mostar municipal council, an EU spokesman stated in Brussels today.

The EU sources, which wished to remain anonymous, told the BETA agency that "the introduction of some sort of sanctions is being contemplated; however, their form, in order to hit the target most effectively, is still being considered," if Zagreb fails to compel the Mostar Croats to enter the new municipal council, in which the Muslims have the majority, by the 4 August deadline set by the EU.

The EU threatened to pull its administrator, Martin Garrod, and its entire administration out of Mostar if the Mostar Croats do not join the municipal council by 4 August at the latest.

EU spokesman Niko Vegter [name as received] told correspondents that, "for the time being, it cannot be specified what sort of measures are being prepared" against Zagreb and the Bosnian Croats.

Vegter did not wish to comment on either the statement by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman that "Croatia and the Croatian council will not humiliate themselves for a fistful of European Currency Units," or the statement by Mijo Brajkovic, the mayor of the Croatian part of Mostar, that "it would not be any great loss if the EU were to pull out of Mostar."

He reminded that in a statement last weekend, the EU emphasized that the authorities in Zagreb and the Bosnian Croats "must honor the Dayton accord," that the Mostar issue "is of key importance for the entire Dayton peace process," and that, in the opposite case, the EU would be compelled to pull out of Mostar, simultaneously taking punitive measures against the Croatian side.

The EU spokesman added that "intensive contacts are underway" between all the protagonists of the Dayton accord with the goal of convincing Zagreb that it must force its Herzegovina proteges to participate in the Mostar municipal administration.

According to him, the Irish Presidency of the EU has the main say, and the managerial board for the realization of the civilian part of the Dayton accord, headed by Carl Bildt, UN senior representative to Bosnia, will discuss the situation in Mostar in Brussels tomorrow.

In connection with this, it was also pointed out in the assessment of Bildt's deputy Michael Steiner that "the key problem in Mostar is that a small group of Mafia men is running the town" with a remark that some of them are on the Hague tribunal list, accused of committing war crimes.

NATO sources have recently made it known that "the secret indictments," although not made public yet, feature "a Croat Mafia man in Mostar, Josip Tuta Naletilic."

It was also said that U.S. negotiator Richard Holbrooke, during his recent visit to Zagreb, demanded of Tudjman that "he removes Mijo Brajkovic, the headstrong mayor of the Croatian part of Mostar."

Diplomatic sources in Brussels, however, believe that reducing the Mostar problems "to a small group of Mafia men" deviates from the analysis given indirectly in the EU statement that "the Croat rejection" traces its roots all the way to the political leadership in Zagreb.

The problem is that Tudjman has previously, in talks with NATO Secretary General Javier Solana and NATO supreme commander General George Joulwan in mid-June, made it perfectly clear that "nothing will come out" of the Federation in the long run and emphasized that "the Croat part of Bosnia should go to Croatia and the Serb part to Serbia, while a small independent Muslim state, which can but does not need to join Croatia, can remain."

Steiner yesterday stated that Tudjman, who exerts a tight grip over the Bosnian Croats, must coerce his compatriots in Mostar into cooperating with the international community or "face possible sanctions."

B-H: Croat Mayor Vows No Surrender Over Mostar Elections

LD2907144996 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] There are still no details about a possible solution to overcome the existing stalemate. There is increasing pressure on the local Croat side to accept the EU's new mandate and the local election results. The most vociferous critics are former administrator of Mostar Hans Koschnick, and Michael Steiner, the deputy to the international community's high representative for Bosnia-Herzegovina, who said that there was no progress in Mostar because the western part of the town was ruled by a mafia group. Mayor [of the Croat western Mostar] Mijo Brajkovic has reacted to that statement. Antun Mrkonjic has a report:

[Mrkonjic] I do not know whether the media carried Steiner's statement truthfully, but if that is what he said, he has nothing to do here any more. We will ask him to name the criminals and mafia people in western Mostar, Mayor Brajkovic said. He said that he admired Steiner and people like him if they could have contacts with criminals.

Commenting on the threat of sanctions to Croatia, Brajkovic said that the EU respected no principles and threatened to introduce sanctions when it suited it. The international community was not happy that Croatian President Franjo Tudjman attended a concert in Medjugorje because they considered this to be interference into another country's internal affairs, but now they are setting ultimatums to Croatia to exert pressure on the Croats of Mostar, Brajkovic said.

According to him, the EU must fit in and cooperate with all sides, and not behave as the plaintiff and the judge at the same time. Leaders can be dismissed and replaced, but the will of the people must be respected and the people—Brajkovic stressed—supported the Croatian Democratic Union and its leaders. We have nothing against the EU and its envoy Martin Garrod, but we cannot accept the violation of law at the expense of the Croat people, Brajkovic said.

We are not obstructing the setting up of new authorities, but the delegates to the council have no legitimacy because the town electoral commission has not published the results of the May elections. The EU can appoint a mayor without our approval, but that would constitute another violation of the law. We will not give in and we will be capable of deciding what is best for us, Brajkovic said. He urged the citizens of Mostar to engage in negotiations and to behave in a reasonable and dignified way.

**B-H: 'Hardline' Mostar Croats Reject
'International Pressure'**

AU2907160896 Paris AFP in English
1557 GMT 29 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina, July 29 (AFP)—The Bosnian Croats in Mostar, who are boycotting the city council, said Monday they would not bow to international pressure to accept the results of "illegal" elections.

"We can't accept the international blackmail aimed at forcing us to accept a decision which harms the interests of the Croats in Mostar," Mile Puljic, head of the local hardline Bosnian Croat party, told AFP.

The Croats, who lost last month's elections to a mainly-Moslem coalition, are boycotting the city council over alleged electoral irregularities and have lodged a complaint with the constitutional court of the Moslem-Croat federation.

One of their complaints, over the voting of Mostar refugees in Bonn, was upheld by the city electoral commission but overturned by the EU ombudsman.

The EU, which has run Mostar for two years, has said it will withdraw from the southern Bosnian city unless the issue is resolved by August 4.

Puljic said that Michael Steiner, deputy to top international civilian official in Bosnia Carl Bildt, was trying to bring about more injustice in Mostar.

"As we refuse to give in, international officials like him devise new ways of shooting poisoned arrows at us," Puljic said.

Steiner said in Sarajevo on Sunday the international community refused to give in to the "blackmail" of the Mostar Croats.

"If you allow the side that doesn't like the election to practically undo the election and its result then we destroy the very essence of elections," he said.

The German diplomat said that the city council could function in Mostar despite the Croat boycott.

"Steiner goes too far in his statements and we strongly advise him to hold himself back from some of his Moslem advisers, who are just criminals," Puljic said.

B-H: LBO Leader Blames Croatia for Mostar Crisis
LD2907185196 Sarajevo BH PRESS
in Serbo-Croatian 1620 GMT 29 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 29 Jul, (BH PRESS)—The Liberal Bosniak Organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina [Liberalna Bosnjacka Organizacija—LBO]

is of the opinion that the process of ethnic transformation of Bosnia is at an advanced stage and that no one is seriously trying to oppose this policy. The international community is also giving legitimacy to this process by legalizing the right of people to choose the place where they will vote, thus allowing manipulations with electoral bodies aimed at changing the ethnic balance. The international community is doing nothing to secure the right of refugees to return, Party Chairman Muhamed Filipovic told a news conference in Sarajevo today.

According to Filipovic, the most worrying aspect is the lack of joint efforts by democratic forces, thus the LBO calls on all those who support the reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina to hold consultations, organize fact-finding missions, and act accordingly.

"What we have in Mostar are the absolutely impermissible presence and activities of a neighboring state [Croatia] and its ruling in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina," Filipovic said [passage omitted]

Commenting on Federal President Kresimir Zubak's statement on attacks on Catholic shrines in Bugojno, Filipovic said:

"A crusade is in progress in Bosnia. Bosnian land is being forcibly christened, as is the case in Capljina and Stolac. An integral part of the crusading mentality is the blowing up of Muslim religious shrines. Zubak should primarily take this into account because the army and authorities Bosnia-Herzegovina have never conducted a policy aimed at cleansing the Catholic population. Zubak has done nothing to stop the ethnic cleansing of the Bosniak population and with this statement he is only compromising his role as president of the Federation.

B-H: Croat Mostar Official Criticizes EU, UN Officials

AU2907204496 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian
1731 GMT 29 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Mostar, 29 Jul (BETA-AFP)—Mile Puljic, deputy mayor of the western part of Mostar, said today that Mostar Croats will soon demand resignation of EU spokesman Dragan Gasic.

"We are going to demand Gasic's resignation because he has long exceeded all limits of good behavior," Puljic said.

Mostar Croats are still refusing to yield to the pressure of the international community which demands of them to accept the results of the local elections held in Mostar on 30 June.

"We cannot accept the blackmail of the international community which wants to make us accept a decision that does not agree with the interests of the Croat people in Mostar," Puljic said.

He accused Michael Steiner, deputy high UN representative, for "asking an even greater injustice for Mostar."

B-H: Mostar HDZ Wants EU Envoy for Bosnia Replaced

LD2907202096 Mostar Croatian Radio Herceg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 29 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Articles published in OSLOBODJENJE, VECERNJE NOVINE, DNEVNI AVAZ, SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, and VJESNIK today regarding a news conference given by Michael Steiner, deputy of the high representative of the international community, have given rise to distrust and concern in the Mostar City Committee of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). Steiner's statements at the news conference were anything but what one might expect from a career diplomat and an impartial official who has been entrusted by the international community with encouraging democratic processes and resolving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

On the one hand, he belittles and unscrupulously ignores the electoral will expressed by 27,000 Mostar citizens who gave their vote to the Croatian Democratic Union, while on the other, he believes that the key to the problem lies with a small group of mafia figures who control the city. The legitimate and democratic request by the HDZ that the election results be announced by the City Electoral Commission, as is clearly specified in the law, and not by some sort of decree issued by the European Union administrator of Mostar, is labelled by Mr. Steiner blackmail, by which he has sent a clear message to those who are planning to stage-manage the September elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The masterminds behind the electoral swindle in Mostar are now trying to wash their shameful hands and are making every possible effort to put in power those who are paying dearly for their services, and whose past is tainted with criminal activities. The threat to use Ifor as the army of occupation is not only funny but also sad, coming as it does from such a high-ranking official of the international community, who should know all about the Ifor mandate in Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

Those who appointed Steiner should think whether he still has the moral credibility to continue with his mission, after he has either intentionally or under pressure crudely played with the dignity of the nation that has been duped too many times by those similar

to him. His bosses finally have to understand that everything can be resolved in a democratic and fair atmosphere in Mostar, not from outside as they believe.

B-H: HDZ Accuses International Community of Pro-Muslim Bias

LD2907192296 Mostar Croatian Radio Herceg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 29 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] In reaction to the latest events surrounding Mostar and the statement by Michael Steiner, deputy international coordinator for civilian affairs, the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] City Committee of Sarajevo has issued the following statement:

We are shocked at the EU's attitude to and conduct over the situation in Mostar, and especially at inappropriate statements by some high-ranking EU officials. The Croats of Bosnia-Herzegovina have often been victims of injustice, but the latest arrogant attempts at blackmail and pressure over Mostar exceed the norms of acceptable and normal behavior. We protest sharply against the inappropriate political discourse and the threatening, insulting, and uncivilized statements about the situation in Mostar made by Mr. Michael Steiner at the news conference yesterday.

How then to explain the following facts?

In Sarajevo, the city assembly was suspended forcibly and a single-nation canton was set up; unprecedented acts of plunder are being perpetrated in the reintegrated municipalities; people are breaking and moving into houses and apartments that are not theirs; the population is being intimidated. However, the international community continues to ignore all this and has not yet reacted. Ethnic cleansing is being carried out in Sarajevo before the very eyes of the world, but no one has reacted. There has been no reaction either to the appeal by 10,000 Croats who have asked to be allowed to return to Sarajevo, to their homes, but to no avail.

At the same time, the EU has been very prompt in reacting to anything that happens in Mostar, especially if its reaction is likely to be damaging to the Croats. Double standards are being constantly applied: One set for the Croats, the other for the Bosniak Muslims. Instead of condemning the cheating, irregularities, and tricks that surrounded the elections in Mostar, the EU is now trying to force the Croats to tolerate deception, injustice, and to tacitly accept subservience, outvoting, and disfranchisement.

In addition, even the Republic of Croatia is being blackmailed, pressure is being brought to bear on its president, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, himself. Artificial tension is being constantly created in Mostar in order to

allow the Bosniak Muslims to behave as they please in Sarajevo, Bugojno, and other localities. By its silence and failure to intervene, the international community is encouraging developments that will eventually deprive the Croats of Sarajevo and elsewhere in Bosnia of their fundamental rights and force them to leave their centuries-old homes. The blatant favoring of Bosniak Muslims by the international players has resulted in ethnic cleansing in Sarajevo and has left the remaining Croats with no political clout in the Federation's capital. Instead of treating the Federation as a whole and using Sarajevo, as key to everything, as point of departure in developing it, focus is being placed on Mostar artificially and tendentiously.

We also wish to point out that advocating the so-called civic Bosnia-Herzegovina is the greatest act of deception, hypocrisy, and cynicism behind which aspirations to outvoting and to stripping the Croats of their freedom are being concealed.

The Sarajevo HDZ City Committee fully supports the Mostar HDZ leadership and Federation President Kresimir Zubak in their attempts to protect Croats and other people coexisting with them. We call on the Republic of Croatia and President Franjo Tudjman not to succumb to rude and offensive pressure by biased and insolent blackmailers, because if the Croats of Mostar allow themselves to be subjugated and to lose their freedom, we will all disappear from the rest of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We appeal to the international community not to allow the Croats to be banished from their ancient homes and not to force them into a subservient position. We want our appeal to be taken very seriously. It is an SOS to save the Croats of Sarajevo and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Sarajevo HDZ City Committee says in its statement.

B-H: German Firm Signs Agreement To Build 3 Power Plants

AU2907175396 Paris AFP in English
1738 GMT 29 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 29 (AFP)—A German power company signed a preliminary agreement Monday with a Bosnian electric power agency to construct three power stations, media reported Monday.

Germany is due to invest \$300 million in the project to build two hydro-power plants and one thermo-electric station, the Sarajevo-based ONASA news agency said.

One of the hydro-power plants will be on the river Drina in east Bosnia near the government-held Gorazde enclave. The others will be near Bihac, northwest Bosnia.

Representatives from Elektroprivreda, one of Bosnia's three power companies, and the German Windrose firm signed the preliminary accord, ONSA said. Work is expected to start "within the next year," the agency added.

B-H: Human Rights Official on Return of Refugees

96BA0381A Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE
in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jun 96 p 6

[Interview with Srdjan Dizdarevic, president of the Helsinki Human Rights Committee in Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Azra Alickovic; place and date not given: "Police Allocating Housing Improperly"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Alickovic] You recently declared at a press conference of the Helsinki Human Rights Committee in Bosnia-Herzegovina [BiH] that the Serbs who have remained in the reintegrated areas of Sarajevo are under ever increasing pressure of newly arrived Bosnjaks. You gave the examples of Vogosca and Osjek near Ilidza. Has the situation changed in the meantime?

[Dizdarevic] Last weekend, we visited Ilidza-Hadzici Municipality (Općina), and the impression is that the situation is deteriorating. The empty houses are already occupied, and now the pressure on the remaining Serbs is increasing for them to leave their homes. In front of the Blazuj church, we saw two buses with Tuzla license plates, which for all practical purposes says that people are coming into these areas. There are signs these days that the Bosnjaks from Doboj might also move toward the suburbs of Sarajevo.

Unanswered Criticism

[Alickovic] Who is behind these cases?

[Dizdarevic] The cases are breaches committed by individuals. Individuals commit these illegal acts, but it is disturbing that the federal police and local government authorities are not doing enough to provide protection to people exposed to pressures. We know of cases where a group of policemen returned a farm and dwelling to a man who had no right to it, and another group is bringing in people from their area and driving the same people from their homes. Sometimes the police do not have enough manpower to prevent such things.

[Alickovic] Have you appealed directly to the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina [FBiH]?

[Dizdarevic] We have pointed up the problem in public statements, and we have addressed the minister of the federal MUP concerning some specific cases.

[Alickovic] What was the answer?

[Dizdarevic] No answer. We never get one.

[Alickovic] What is the key to the problem?

[Dizdarevic] The SDA [Democratic Action Party] considers Sarajevo to be its prize in Dayton and wants to concretize it by bringing in Bosnjaks, Muslims. One official from Zvornik said in the Assembly of refugees from this area that the SDA is inviting Bosnjaks to come to Sarajevo. There is no evidence that this is being done by the institutions of the system, say, by some ministry or the UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees]. The data indicate that people from the Drina Valley and now also from Doboj are being sent in the direction of Sarajevo by the SDA, which wants to strengthen its electorate in this way and make Sarajevo a Muslim city.

[Alickovic] Dr. Ismet Grbo, SDA spokesman, denied that they are behind the invitation to the people of Doboj to come to Sarajevo!

[Dizdarevic] We have a statement from a press conference of the SDA in which it was said that bringing in the Bosnjaks was perhaps not ethical, but it was humane.

[Alickovic] You have visited Banja Luka. Do you think that the Bosnjaks who were driven from that city will soon return to their homes?

[Dizdarevic] We still cannot speak about human rights there. Perhaps certain small steps have been taken to get rid of the "Seselj-ites" and "Arkan-ites," so that there are no physical threats. However, life is very hard for the Bosnjaks, but also for the Serbs who do not share the thinking of the top leadership in Pale, and the steps in that direction are small.

Banja Luka More Liberal Than Pale

[Alickovic] Have you talked with the Bosnjaks who live there?

[Dizdarevic] On this mission we wanted to encourage people who think like we do, so that together we would institute some kind of activity through nongovernmental institutions in the area of human rights and civic organization. That was the main objective of our visit, in which, among other things, we tried to get an insight into the human rights situation. We were also in Banja Luka before Kasagic's removal, and compared to that period we got the impression that the situation is radicalizing once again. Before that removal, it seemed that this city was somewhat more liberal than Pale.

[Alickovic] How are the Bosnjaks and Croats getting along in Banja Luka?

[Dizdarevic] They have been completely marginalized in this region. They are still under suspicion, and citizens of Serbian nationality avoid contact with them out of fear of being suspected of fraternizing with the Muslims. Although in Banja Luka there are 25 parties active in addition to the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party], the atmosphere is not even close to democratic and to one in which we can speak about respect for human rights.

[Alickovic] What is the situation in the field of human rights in the areas still referred to as the "HB" [Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia]?

[Dizdarevic] We have been in Stolac. In that little town ethnic cleansing has been refined to perfection, if one might so put it. The inhabitants of the city are Croats and only some 15 Bosnjaks who have remained because of special privileges.

[Alickovic] The partners in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina make verbal declarations in favor of the return of everyone to their homes. Do you have figures from Stolac to show that this will happen soon?

[Dizdarevic] None whatsoever. One can hardly speak of a return. It is evident that neither the local authorities in Stolac, nor the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] and SDA, and not even the president and vice president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina are taking visible steps in that direction.

More Freedoms Than Legal Powers

[Alickovic] How do you evaluate the level of respect for human rights on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina under control of the legal authorities as compared to the Serbian entity and the areas controlled by the HVO [Croatian Defense Council]?

[Dizdarevic] As for the freedom of political activity and association, and freedom of the media then it is evident that the areas under the legal Bosnia-Herzegovina authority are far ahead of the Serbian entity and the "HB." However, it is very difficult to make a general assessment of the level of respect for human rights, because they can be examined only in specific areas.

B-H: Plavsic Discusses Future of Federation, Election Chances

AU2907200296 *Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian*
29 Jul 96 p 19

[Unattributed interview with Biljana Plavsic, acting president of the Serb Republic; place and date not

given—"SDS Guarantees Serb Survival"—reprinted from TV NOVOSTI]

[FBIS Translated Text] Had times been different, Biljana Plavsic would have probably never become a politician. She would have remained a university professor who observes political events from afar; from a sufficient distance that she would not fall into the maelstrom.

Her political road was set at the start of her engagement with the ideal of the protection and survival of Serbs and has not changed a bit. Her stand and perseverance are best shown in the comment one journalist made on the occasion of her taking over the duty of the president of the Serb Republic [RS]: "Bildt wanted to get rid of Karadzic at any cost. Now he will see what a tough nut means."

Respecting Principles

[TV NOVOSTI] You have taken over the post of the president of state at a difficult time. What do you find the hardest and what tasks are most urgent?

[Plavsic] As for the international plane, the most important thing is that the Dayton agreement is respected, but in the literal sense and nothing more than that. However, the international community is trying to achieve something more, something that is impossible to do within a short time and that is unfeasible in the field. Therefore, the Dayton agreement must be implemented, but nothing more than what it envisages. On the internal plane, we must implement legal regulations with a view to establishing the market economy system, which has always been characteristic for the Serbian people and which will bring prosperity to this people.

[TV NOVOSTI] You are called the "Iron Lady." Why have you earned this name?

[Plavsic] You should not think that the name applies only to this period. I had it already at university, where they called me "Madam Thatcher." I was never angry about it. I am very tolerant when I hear other people's opinions, and I accept them if they are good. If we agree about something, however, then there is no going back. Many of our problems are coming from our insouciance, sloppiness, and sluggish path toward realization. During my university studies in Zagreb, I found my training to be very useful, so I used it when I became professor. I started lectures exactly on time, and I locked up the room so that people who were late would not disturb me. I locked the doors only at the beginning, but later on, students who were late would wait for the break even though the door was not locked.

[TV NOVOSTI] How well do you agree with Bildt?

[Plavsic] I think that we can cooperate well if we agree about principles. Correct people do not need to discuss principles, because these principles are understood. What I mean is mutual respect. I do not demand respect for myself, by respect from the international community. Discrimination cannot be tolerated, and if it is present, there will be no talks. I guarantee that we are going to respect the Dayton agreement, but there must be no deviations from it.

[TV NOVOSTI] The RS is often blamed for violating the agreement. Is that justified?

[Plavsic] No, it is not! It has already been an established practice that whenever problems arise on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina—and many of them happen in the Federation—culprits are sought in the RS. Problems between the Croats and Muslims do not interest me at all, and I do not want to comment on them, but several provocations by IFOR and the international community have shown that there are problems there. However, we were blamed. This cannot continue.

Mostar Elections as Litmus Test

[TV NOVOSTI] To what extent does the other side respect the Dayton agreement?

[Plavsic] Enough can be seen from the fact that their Federation cannot function. It was only recently that they agreed on the army—that both HVO [Croatian Defense Council] and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army exist—and U.S. Defense Secretary Perry had to come for that. The Mostar elections have demonstrated that nothing functions there. Although, with the Dayton agreement, we attained a minimum, it is a huge advantage that the Serbs are alone on their territory, while in the Federation they "packaged" the Croats and Muslims. The antagonism between them is awful. The only connecting point, a force that kept them together, is their hatred of the Serbs. That is sad. It is fine when love connects people or nations, but can you imagine what it looks like when the only link you have is hatred towards a third nation? As we have separated, this hatred now sparks from both sides.

[TV NOVOSTI] How do you evaluate the chances for the Federation to survive?

[Plavsic] There are none. I am trying to be optimistic, because I really do not wish the Federation to fail to function, but it is impossible. If it is based on so much hatred, so many ugly emotions, and so little reasoning, it is doomed to fail.

[TV NOVOSTI] Why do the Serbs and Croats not want a united Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Plavsic] The Croats have their history. True, it is less rich than in the case of some other peoples, but they are a people, a nation. They know who they are, where they are from, and where they are going. We must be firm, to insist on the national characteristics that make us distinguishable. True, communism disturbed us a lot, but we shall consolidate. The condition for that is to have an ethnic state on this side of the Drina river. Politicians outside the RS do not know how important that is, not only from the point of Serb interests.

[TV NOVOSTI] What will happen if parties with ethnic profiles, that is, the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party], the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union], and the SDA [Party of Democratic Action], win the elections?

[Plavsic] The Mostar elections served as a litmus test. They have shown that Mostar consists of two parts and that it will definitely remain that way, just as Bosnia-Herzegovina will consist of three parts. Ethnically profiled parties will certainly win although the international community will try to have the other ones win.

[TV NOVOSTI] How do you see the SDS' chances at the elections?

[Plavsic] The decisive criterion at the elections will be the survival of the Serb people and the ethnic state, and the people know that only the SDS guarantees that. The Radicals are also a national party, and they can also ensure that, but all the other parties are.... I cannot say that there are no patriots in them, but....

[TV NOVOSTI] How do you see your own chances in the presidential elections?

[Plavsic] I am not preoccupied with my own chances, but with those of the SDS. Our mentality considers it a bit risky to put confidence in a woman. However, I must say that, in many situations, during the war and before it, I showed that I have "guts" and that I am more male than the males.

[Box, p 19]

Hard Line

[Plavsic] I have always advocated the position that we should hold our destiny in our own hands and not to yield to any pressures. I fear that we are to be blamed for being used to having solutions dictated to us and not knowing how to use some more favorable situations. However, this is what we got. We should retain and improve what we got through the Dayton agreement as times change. The situation will not always be like this. More favorable situations moment is favorable to bring our state into a better position than it is with Dayton. If this is considered to be a "hard line," then this is it, I am

hard. The soft line means concessions. A threat frightens you, and there you are. The international community, having seen that the blackmail method brings results, constantly plays the same cards.

[Box, p 19]

Admiration for the World as the Latest Fashion

[TV NOVOSTI] What do you think about admiration for the world, which is very popular among the Serbs, particularly in Serbia?

[Plavsic] I think that this means following a fashion. How can you love the world and speak about your own people with such disgust? This would be as if a woman would say that she loves all children in the world and does not love her own. You first have to love the world around you, and then other people. Of course, one should not be blind to what is not good about your own people. I know that we have many shortcomings, but there are no people that I love more than the Serbs. (endall) 29 jul nh/waters

B-H: Serb Leadership 'Not To Succumb' to Pressures

LD2907201796 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian
1803 GMT 29 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Knezevo [Skender Vakuf], 29 July (SRNA)—Gojko Klickovic, president of the government [prime minister] of the Serb Republic, said in Knezevo today that the current Serb Republic leadership was unanimous in its determination not to succumb to the pressure by the international community.

As part of his tour of the western part of the Serb Republic, Prime Minister Klickovic visited Knezevo to speak to the local political and business leaders about the current political situation in the republic.

Klickovic said that the international community was exerting constant pressure on the Serb Republic and its leaders in order to reintegrate the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"International emissaries are now using Brcko to exert pressure on us although the Dayton agreement clearly states that the town is an integral part of the Serb Republic and the only acceptable talks will be on the widening of the corridor," the prime minister said.

According to him, "the visit by the vice president of the Muslim-Croat Federation, Ejup Ganic, to Belgrade was part of efforts to maintain pressure on the Serb Republic."

"The current Serb Republic leadership insists that there will be no more concessions since to give in would

cancel the results of the Serb people's just struggle and would allow the Serb Republic to be swallowed by Bosnia-Herzegovina," Klickovic said.

He repeated that the Serb Republic had done its utmost to ensure that the Dayton Agreement was implemented and that it now expected to be given the same treatment as the Muslim-Croat federation.

Klickovic also spoke about the government's priority tasks over the next two months which, according to him, include above all the consolidation of the state's defense system and the modernization of the army.

"To this end we have taken a whole series of measures and the results so far have been satisfactory," the prime minister said.

According to him, the other important task facing the government is to resolve the problem of energy supply, especially of electricity, to the western parts of the republic.

In order to resolve this problem the government has secured funds to build a long-distance power line between Srbac and Derventa.

The electricity supply to the western part of the Serb Republic should be normalized by 14 August when the repair work on the Ugljevik thermoelectric power station is expected to be completed, Klickovic said.

B-H: Prospects for Serb Republic Reconstruction Viewed

AU2507092396 Belgrade BETA in English
0850 GMT 25 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] For the Bosnian Serb leadership the division of Bosnia is a much more important objective than the obtaining of the international economic aid.

The team of the World Bank left Banja Luka, where on July 4 to 10 it had talks with political and business representatives of the Republic of Srpska (RS) [Serb Republic], the Serb entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina, with "mixed impressions."

"The position of the Bosnian Serb leadership is rather rigid and makes the reaching of agreements and cooperation difficult," a source close to the talks said to BETA, requiring anonymity.

According to the Dayton Accord, of November 21, 1995, the Republic of Srpska is one of the two entities constituting Bosnia and Herzegovina; Its leadership is attempting to transform the entity into an independent state.

The World Bank team came to Banja Luka, the RS economic and cultural center, in order to determine the state of affairs there before the start of a yet another conference of donors of the international aid for the rebuilding of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The conference is scheduled for the end of September. With the same task on its agenda, a part of the World Bank delegation visited Pale, the political capital of the Bosnian Serbs.

Before the beginning of the war in 1991, Bosnia-Herzegovina was a federal unit of the former Yugoslavia, while its economy was a part of the unified Yugoslav market. The region of Banja Luka, that is, the western part of the RS, used to have strong economic ties with Croatia and West European countries, while the undeveloped eastern part was oriented towards Serbia proper.

The Economy

According to the Economic Institute in Banja Luka, in the RS territory (occupying 49 percent of Bosnia and Herzegovina) 40 to 60 percent of all resources and industrial facilities of Bosnia and Herzegovina are located: 40 percent of the energy-producing industry, 60 percent of agricultural resources, and 49 percent of the forest industry, along with 32-35 percent of all other branches of industry. According to approximate assessments made by economists, around one fifth of all RS industrial facilities were destroyed in the war. The existing industrial capacities currently use only 8-10 percent of their potential, official data say.

"For the Republic of Srpska the damage caused by the war is far less significant than the lack of the working capital," says Mladen Ivanic, professor of the Faculty of Economy in Banjaluka and the candidate for the new tripartite presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to him, the shortage of the working capital could have been resolved in a rather easy way through direct cooperation of companies with foreign institutions, as the RS economy consist mainly of smaller enterprises which are rather easy to start.

According to the Dayton Accord, the Central Bank of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the customs service, the control of payment operations and the transportation are in charge of the central Bosnia-Herzegovinian authorities. However, the fiscal policies are in charge of the entities.

The Integration

During their negotiations in Pale and Banja Luka, the World Bank representatives insisted on a high level of integration of the economies of the Republic of Srpska and the Muslim-Croat Federation, that is, of the two

Bosnian entities. The position of the Serb side, however, was different.

"The economic interests of the RS are not guiding the Bosnian Serbs towards the integration with the Muslim-Croat Federation, but with the economy of Serbia proper," says Dusko Jaksic, director of the Economic Institute in Banja Luka, and one of the Serb representatives at the talks with the World Bank team.

During the negotiations Jaksic acted as a mouthpiece of the RS political and military leadership, which keeps insisting on a rapid division of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The political headquarters of the Bosnian Serbs is located in the eastern, economically undeveloped part of the RS, while its western portion, where the majority of the RS economic potential is based, favors the cooperation with the world and the Muslim-Croat Federation. However, this part of the RS also rejects the notion of a unitary Bosnia-Herzegovina. The pragmatic faction there is only in favor of renewing the economic ties. The hardliners reject even the economic cooperation, which is the main reason why the RS has not yet been given any economic aid from the world.

"Certain interests can be achieved through actions comprehensible to the developed countries; Therefore, we have to accept economic and other forms of cooperation with the world," says Miladen Ivanic, a representative of the pragmatic faction.

In April, this faction suffered much when the Pale leadership dismissed the RS liberal prime minister, Rajko Kasagic. Analysts hold that the liberals among the Bosnian Serbs will have a hard time recovering from this setback.

The Interregnum

By the Article III of the Dayton Peace Accord and by the Constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Bosnian Serbs have been granted the right to establish special ties with the "neighboring countries" (Serbia and Montenegro), based on a previous consent of the central parliament.

The Dayton Agreement, in fact, have sanctioned the existing situation, that is, the existence of the two entities; However, at the same time a mechanism entitling the Muslim government in Sarajevo to exercise monopoly over cooperation with international financial and trade institutions has been build into the accord," says Jelica Minic, the president of the European Movement in Serbia.

The Dayton Accord stipulated that until the time the general parliamentary elections are over, all political institutions existing in Bosnia-Herzegovina at the time of its signing shall be recognized, including the central

authorities in Sarajevo, which in the meantime, had come under the Muslim control.

Thus the state prerogatives concerning deals with the international financial institutions exercised by what is now the Muslim-Croat entity were also sanctioned as such. All the Bosnian Serb representatives without exemption hold that such situation is a complete denial of the principle of the equality of the two entities, guaranteed by the Dayton Accord.

"There will be no economic cooperation, that is, no cooperation whatsoever, between the two entities in Bosnia until the September elections," said one analyst in Belgrade. "The Bosnian Serb leaders are convinced that the RS cooperation with the actual Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has been controlled by the Muslims since the beginning of the war, would be interpreted as the Serb recognition of its continuity, that is, its legitimacy, with all the ensuing consequences."

Such recognition could, in turn, open the question of legitimacy of the actual RS government and ultimately be interpreted as the Serb acceptance of responsibility for the beginning of the war. Faced with such a choice, the Bosnian Serb leaders would rather decline the international aid distributed by the Central Bank of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Sarajevo, which is also controlled by the Muslims. Recently, the RS rejected the aid offered for the reconstruction of the energy-producing system, because it was also distributed through the Central Bank in Sarajevo. Without giving any explanations, the RS also broke the already finalized agreement on credit for the rebuilding of the agriculture (\$2 million), contracted by former prime minister, Rajko Kasagic, who was dismissed because of intending to attend the Brussels' conference of donors as a member of the single delegation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. There was no Bosnian Serb representatives at that conference.

The main obstacle to the inclusion of the RS in the aid program is a condition posed to the Bosnian Serb political and military leadership by the international community requiring the Serb cooperation with the International War Crimes Tribunal in the Hague. The Tribunal has indicted the RS president, Radovan Karadzic, and the RS military commander, Ratko Mladic, of war crimes and genocide.

BETA's diplomatic sources in Belgrade claim that the basic condition for the inclusion of the RS in the aid program is the stepping down of Radovan Karadzic from his presidential position (and not necessarily his extradition to the Hague). Formally, he withdrew on June 30, when all his presidential prerogatives were transferred to the RS vice president, Biljana

Plavsic. However, Karadzic has still retained a dominant political influence.

The World Bank team, which visited Banja Luka last week, that is, at the time when the transfer of power to Plavsic had already been carried out, promised the Serb entity around \$30 million in credits for education, health care and road construction.

The Aid

At two of their Brussels conferences on the rebuilding of Bosnia, in December 1995 and in April 1996 respectively, the international donors pledged a total of \$1.8 billion in aid for Bosnia. The World Bank has calculated that Bosnia will need \$5.1 billion during the first four years, while for 1996 only, the necessary amount is estimated at \$1.9 billion. According to that plan, for a four-year rebuilding of the Republic of Srpska, \$1.8 billion would be set aside.

It seems, however, that the Bosnian Serbs are convinced that the promised aid will never reach them.

At the present, a group of the RS and Serbian economists are working on the project entitled "The Strategy of the Rebuilding of the RS." A member of the group, Dusko Jaksic, thus describes the strategy in question: "The main task is to rely on the RS' own resources. It primarily means the activating of the agriculture, in order for us to cease being dependent on the import of food.... The restructuring of power plants and communications will follow. These are the three main primary objectives of the RS' rebuilding. The establishing of ties in the RS economy itself, and the consequent establishing of ties with Serbia, will come next," Jaksic said.

The RS has presented the World Bank with a list containing 2,260 projects whose value total amounts to \$5.1 billion, and whose main items are the industry (52.07 percent) and agriculture (19.58 percent), says Ugljesa Pejic, the representative of the RS Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Belgrade.

Mladen Ivanic claims that the list represents a "sum of RS the entrepreneurs' ideas." "In it, there are some great and good ideas, but there are also some proposals which do not deserve much attention," Ivanic said.

Ivanic holds that the international aid "will certainly fail to meet the promised amount," and that the influx of credits will start slowing down as soon as the situation in Bosnia improves and Bosnia gradually ceases to make headlines.

According to him, the mechanism of the aid approval itself will create additional problems: "The international financial institutions have an established bureaucratic procedure; They will require certain guarantees which the RS will be unable to come up with in a short time. A central bank cannot serve as a guarantor, because it

does not exist, and when and if it will be established is still an open question."

Finally, Ivanic said that out of total \$5.1 billion promised, only \$700,000 is intended for the reconstruction of the industry and the agriculture of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"It indicates that credits are not a mechanism intended to start up the production. Therefore, I am in favor of a model based on direct investments, that is, on the commercial cooperation between foreign and domestic companies, in which foreign governments would serve as guarantors of their companies' deals with the RS. Such a mechanism would prove of great help to the RS, and to Bosnia-Herzegovina as a whole, as it is a zone of an extremely high risk," says Ivanic, stressing the example of the Great Britain, which had recently sent a 35-member business delegation to Sarajevo and Banja Luka for negotiations with potential partners.

Ivanic points to advantages of direct investments over the approval of international credits: Direct investments are much more effective and will secure an extended presence of the international partners in Bosnia, a formula which has "both the economic and political weight." Also, such investments would play an important role in building of the RS as an area with an open economy.

As an advocate of the RS government position, Dusko Jaksic holds that the establishing of economic ties with Serbia is a precondition for the RS emergence in world market. He rejected the arguments of the World Bank representatives saying that Serbia itself is isolated, overwhelmed with serious structural problems and lacking the needed capital as "noneconomic."

However, the region of Banja Luka, in which the majority of the economic facilities of the RS is concentrated, is an export area in the classical sense: Before the war, its exports had doubled the imports, and were aimed mainly at the West. Therefore, to it the Serbian and Montenegrin markets would not be much of a challenge.

The Perspective

It is beyond doubt that the RS cooperation with the other entity and with Croatia proper will start through trade. The cooperation will reach "a certain level of unity in regard to the financial system. However, the rest—the economic system adopted and the type of privatization introduced—will be separately decided by the each entity; thus, in principle, in Bosnia-Herzegovina a competition of different economic systems is to be expected in the future," Ivanic forecast.

"Such developments are not necessarily a bad resolution," he said in the end.

B-H: Official Says Karadzic Pictures Must Be Removed*AU2707193696 Paris AFP in English
1924 GMT 27 Jul 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, July 27 (AFP)—Posters portraying Bosnian Serb leader and war crimes suspect Radovan Karadzic must be taken down ahead of campaigning for September 14 elections, one of Bosnia's top civil officials said on Saturday.

"Posters of such persons should not be seen during this electoral campaign," said Michael Steiner, deputy to Carl Bildt, the top civilian official in charge of peace implementation in Bosnia.

Under a deal negotiated by US envoy Richard Holbrooke and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, Karadzic earlier this month resigned as president of the Bosnian Serb republic and as chairman of the Serb Democratic Party (SDS).

He also agreed he would not make any public appearances, would grant media interviews and would not campaign for election in the September poll.

However, posters of Karadzic, still presented as the SDS supreme, remain on display in shop windows in the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Pale and in nearby locations.

In Sokolac, near Pale, pictures of Karadzic are placed near to posters of Zeljko Raznjatovic, alias "Arkan," who is a leader of Serb nationalist militia, and like Karadzic is accused of war crimes by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, based in The Hague.

Steiner was speaking following talks Saturday which he described as "productive" with Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the "parliament" of the Serb republic.

However, referring to arbitrary arrests in the Bosnian Serb entity Steiner added: "We have too many incidents where people are just taken out of the street at random.

Steiner insisted that in order to ensure freedom of movement in Bosnia, as provided for in the Dayton peace accords signed in December last year, "We need to have very objective procedures, so that people feel secure when they want to travel also in the other entity."

For his part, Krajisnik said he wanted to emphasise Pale's willingness to ensure freedom of movement and the protection of human rights as quickly as possible.

He said "a large number" of Bosnian Serbs had been arbitrarily arrested in the Moslem Croat federation since the Dayton accords, but he did not rule out the possibility there were "similar cases on the other side"—

namely Bosnian Croats or Moslems arbitrarily arrested in the Serb Republic.

B-H: Debate Seen Lacking in Bosnian Serb Election Campaign*AU2807140096 Paris AFP in English
1133 GMT 28 Jul 96*

[By Michael Criou]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, July 28 (AFP)—With no real questions being asked on television, and just a few posters up in the "capital" Pale, no genuine debate is taking place in the Serb-held part of Bosnia ahead of mid-September elections.

The election campaign for Bosnia's first post-war polls got under way formally on July 19 after Bosnian Serb war crimes suspect Radovan Karadzic agreed under US pressure to step down as Serb "president" and leader of the ruling Serb Democratic Party (SDS).

The official Bosnian Serb television, based in Pale, is running the campaign however, and is run by SDS supporters loyal to Karadzic.

While Karadzic himself cannot appear in public, his supporters can and the SDS is expected to win in the Serb-controlled areas in the elections, set for September 14.

Under orders from the organisation overseeing Bosnia's elections, the OSCE, to show political neutrality, the official television has recently started an evening slot for the few opposition parties vying with the SDS to present their candidates for the local and regional-level polls.

But popular interest in the programmes appears slight, and the presentation of the non-SDS parties poor. Such coverage is anyway swamped by the flood of coverage of the SDS.

Mocking calls from the OSCE for a politically neutral atmosphere ahead of the polls, the leading figures in the SDS, all allies of Karadzic, drive home their nationalist message every day on news and "special" programmes.

Saturday evening, for example, Serb television showed a two-hour "special programme" on the "problems of electrification" which gave a platform to two SDS leaders, Biljana Plavsic and Aleksa Buha, to hammer home SDS policies.

The parties that are challenging the SDS, are in most significant ways, little like the sort of moderate Serb party sought after by western officials.

They include a monarchist party, a party headed by notorious warlord Zeljko "Arkan" Raznjatovic, and a

party led by Serbian ultranationalist Vojislav Seselj, known for complaining of the SDS's "moderation."

They also include a Banja Luka-based opposition coalition, the Democratic Patriotic Bloc and another coalition, the Alliance for Peace and Progress (APP), headed by the Socialist Party, which is effectively the Bosnian Serb branch of the Serbian ruling party of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Ideologically, the differences between the party in power and most of the opposition appear slight, with none, other than the tiny Liberal Party, suggesting it will turn in indicted war criminals for trial, for example. [passage omitted]

B-H: 'Nothing Will Change' if Milovanovic Replaces Mladic

AU2807174296 Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ
in Serbo-Croatian 20-21 Jul 96 p 13

[Article by Djuro Kozar: "General With a Hangover"]

[FBIS Translated Text] These days in Pale a reporter of one European news agency asked General Milan Gvero if Ratko Mladic was still the commander of the Army of the Serbian Republic. The answer was positive, but since there was no convincing explanation, the dilemma remained.

Mladic has been hiding from IFOR, and more and more his role is being taken over by his deputy, Gen. Manojlo Milovanovic, and that, apparently, creates dilemmas not only among foreigners, but also among the people who live in the Serb entity.

Decision Made in Belgrade

Has part of the responsibilities been transferred to Milovanovic? Although that has not been officially confirmed, it seems that, because of the status of a fugitive, which Mladic objectively has as a person who has been indicted by the Hague tribunal, there have been some perturbations in the Main Staff of the Army of the Serbian Republic.

For the time being the brutal man from Kalinovik [Mladic] is formally still the man in command, but since May 1996 that army is publicly represented exclusively by Milovanovic. He, for example, spoke on the recent Vidovdan [28 June Serb holiday] celebration in Banja Luka, whereas earlier the main speaker on that holy day of the Army of the Serbian Republic was Mladic.

Although in January he arrogantly laughed at the mention of the possibility of his arrest, and told some Greek papers that IFOR would have to have many more soldiers if they wanted to capture him, now not only does Mladic not speak that way, but, for the most part,

he does not even appear in public. That does not mean that he does not move and that, for example, he does not go to Belgrade, where his wife, son, daughter-in-law, and grandson live—but he seldom takes part in the visits to army barracks and in contacts with the troops. Instead of him, the reports are received together with the mentioned officers Milovanovic and Gvero—by Gens. Zdravko Tolimir, Petar Skrbic (who replaced Djordje Djukic), and Zivomir Ninkovic.

And the decisions on who will do what and who will replace whom are not made in Pale or in Banja Luka, but in Belgrade. In Serbia there is already some talk that according to the same methodology in which responsibility was transferred from Radovan Karadzic to Biljana Plavsic, the same could happen between Ratko Mladic and Manojlo Milovanovic. There are many who believe that has already happened, but it has still not been made public in order not to invoke negative connotations in the Serb Army.

In any case, Gen. Milovanovic has been polishing his rank insignia—an allusion to the incident from 1995, when on the front in western Bosnia, angry because of the defeat, he threw his insignia in the mud before Karadzic's feet. Afterward, they say, he put the insignia back on his shoulders, and Pale tried to camouflage that event. Mladic was also angry because of that, so he sent Milovanovic on vacation in Belgrade, and when he came back everything was the way it had been before.

He Does Not Drink Any More—Nor Less!

Who is Manojlo Milovanovic?

He was born in 1945 in Laktasi. In Belgrade he graduated from the army secondary school and the Army Academy of Land Forces, Infantry Department. He was among the best students of the 19th class of that academy, but in the former JNA he did not advance very much, since he had problems with alcohol because of unsolved family questions. He was alone as he was sent to various posts.

Before the war in Croatia he worked in Pristina, together with Mladic. There were some attempts to cure him from drinking, but as far as Manojlo is concerned, it is always the same: He does not drink any more—nor less! During the aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina, he never stopped drinking. After all, whenever he appeared on the Pale television, he looked as though he had a hangover.

Since he is in the high position of the head of the Main Staff and automatically the commander's deputy, it seems that he is Belgrade's favorite despite his alcoholism, so Gen. Milovanovic is the most serious candidate for the post of the main commander of the Army of the Serbian Republic. In the General Staff of the Army of Yugoslavia in Belgrade Milovanovic's

contribution to the aggression is highly appreciated, and particularly his loyalty to Mladic. He has endured nearly five years of Mladic's drill, and today he still does his best to hide him—and Milovanovic is still loyal to his commander, despite the crimes which the monstrous man from Kalinovik committed.

Thus, even if Milovanovic is appointed commander of the Main Staff of the Army of the Serbian Republic, nothing will change. He will be a new Mladic, who will stink of brandy.

B-H: Radical Leader Calls Ganic's Belgrade Visit 'Ironie'

AU2607150596 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1154 GMT 26 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 26 July (BETA)—Jovan Glamocanin, leader of the Serbian Radical Party Nikola Pasic, today assessed the visit by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation delegation to Belgrade as a "logical step in the train of events leading toward the normalization of relations in the region of the former Yugoslavia."

"It is ironic, however, that Ejup Ganic headed the delegation, a man who was also at the head of the fight against the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and all the activities that lead up to the war" in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Glamocanin said at the press conference.

He also said that "the pressures put on the Serb Republic, which still continue, follow a policy that supports an elections victory in the Serb Republic by parties that would push it completely into Bosnia-Herzegovina, where it will lose its integrity."

Glamocanin also said that it can still be seen that the United States does not treat all three parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina equally.

He said that the United States does not question the Croatian Democratic Community or the Party of Democratic Action, which are the national parties of the Croats and Muslims respectively. In Glamocanin's assessment, according to the Americans "they can have national parties, whereas the Serbs cannot."

B-H: Serb Republic Socialist Leader Radisic Interviewed

AU2307123796 Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jul 96 p 13

[Interview with Zivko Radisic, leader of the Socialist Party of the Serb Republic, by "L.P.," place and date not given: "Ready for Victory"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zivko Radisic was chosen as the leader of the Socialist Party of the Serb Republic (SPRS) at the party's recent congress. The first man of the Serb Republic's socialists is not an unknown personality in these regions. Born in Kozara in 1937, he remembers

"that war" very well when he was in Malo Palancisce, as well as the camp he was in as a child. And in this war, he participated to the extent which his age permitted him.

He was president of the Banja Luka Municipal Assembly for five and a half years, and for four years he was the minister of national defense in the government of former Bosnia-Herzegovina. He was the general director of Cajavec for five years, and at the time of the beginning of the war he was the secretary general of the Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce. While many other people were escaping to Belgrade, Zivko Radisic returned to his hometown, to Banja Luka. He answered the call of his fatherland to share his destiny together with his people. Two of his sons participated in the past war as soldiers of the Serb Republic Army.

[L.P.] The first congress of the SPRS took place not long ago.

[Radisic] It undoubtedly represents the culmination of an extremely rich and intensive period of activity for the SPRS. It was the culmination of the hard work of our members over a number of months. Within the party, we decided to intensify the party life, to hold the first regular party elections, from the town and area election conferences, which were held through the municipalities, to the Congress, as the highest body of a party.

[L.P.] What was the basic goal of the party elections?

[Radisic] They were held in order for us to confirm ourselves! We wanted to see how strong we were, how we were organized, to see where we were "rusty." Through these elections we have also gained new personnel! I will say that while there still was war, party life was of secondary importance, for understandable reasons. It was limited by a number of circumstances. Our members were mostly in the army, on the front!

[L.P.] What are the working conditions for the SPRS like?

[Radisic] They were very, very difficult! I responsibly claim that the disposition of the official authorities was not suitable for a multiparty and democratic system. The current authorities had totally denounced us! To our shock, we were greeted as a traitor, enemy, basically a fascist organization. The socialist party has been marked as the "Red tower," which had crossed the Drina river and which is now on the rampage across the Serb Republic. The mortgage [hipoteka] of the previous times has been transferred to our party.

[L.P.] Has your party been threatened?

[Radisic] The SPRS and its members continue to be subject to attacks, threats, provocation, fright, and even terrorist attacks! Our members are being removed [smenjivati] from positions within the leadership, and

the same is valid for our supporters. Our use of meeting rooms, work rooms, as well as rooms for activities, is being forbidden everywhere.

[L.P.] What can explain such actions?

[Radisic] The incomprehension of democracy! And, of course, the view of multiparty life and the process which is going on. The current authorities have a horrifying fear of the possibility of losing power [vlast], as well as the position that comes with it. A certain fear of possible responsibility has also turned up. This is an issue of totalitarianism of a special kind. This is single mindedness, more dangerous than any known kinds, previous ones! I would say this: There are those who view the opinions or suggestions of others as that of enemies and traitors of his people. Such people have no place in a democracy! Such a person does not care about the interest of his own people. It has been known for ages that only the weak and unstable systems suppress democracy in all possible ways, primarily by force, but they also verbally swear upon it.

[L.P.] We are nearing the elections.

[Radisic] The forthcoming elections will secure the full legitimacy of the Serb Republic. The party congress has decisively rejected all insinuations and lies that the SPRS is against the Serb Republic, that is, that the socialists are for a united Bosnia-Herzegovina. The socialists are not ashamed of their contribution to the salvation of the Serb people and the creation of the Serb Republic: they are proud of it. We are not running away from our historic and political responsibility to defend and develop the Serb Republic in peace. We have, from the congress platform, called upon all the parties, state institutions, patriotic forces, and every individual to remove all our Serb divisions, and to build and develop our fatherland, the Serb Republic. The future is calling us! No one should be forgotten at this roll call [prozivka] before history and democracy, as well as the civilizational challenge of this new era. No one is superfluous. However, regarding the forthcoming elections, the SPRS has been preparing for them for a long time and in great extent. I am convinced that our party and our members will experience this epochal event absolutely prepared.

[L.P.] Both you and Dragutin Ilic, the party's leader until now, were on the list of candidates for the president of the SPRS. You were the one who received the trust of the congress participants. What was the deciding factor?

[Radisic] Is that important? The issue here is not one of rivalry, of division within the party, and even less an issue of two movements! So far Dragutin Ilic and I

have been working together. We are continuing to work together, for the benefit of the SPRS and the people! Ilic remains in the top leadership, and he is fulfilling all the party tasks with the same enthusiasm and elan as he did before. Democracy was the victorious one at the congress elections! This is not a phrase. The participants of the congress voted secretly, and we had more candidates for every [congress] body. The past events have shown that the SPRS is not being formed, nor is developing, in the shadows of a certain leader. The SPRS can, at this time, offer at least ten equally capable and courageous persons who could lead it.

[Box, p 13]

Large Membership

[L.P.] How many members does the SPRS have?

[Radisic] We are not trying to develop as a party of the masses. We do not see our own strength in the number of its members, but in the idea and the program of the party. Let me also say that we have around 50,000 members. There would be many more, were the view of us not the way it is! The election conferences have shown who we are and what we are like! We are everywhere we need to be, among all levels of the people. We also have the young socialists. We are especially glad that we have, within our ranks, a large number of fighters. Real patriots, courageous, brave people. That is our treasure. We have workers, retirees, fighters, the wounded, invalids, intellectuals, students, and others within our ranks. We are a party that many are looking at. People are linking all their hopes and wishes to the SPRS. Our members are primarily honest and respectable citizens of the Serb Republic. That is what we are like and that is how we will stay.

[Box, p 13]

A Painful Compromise

[L.P.] We are in the post-Dayton period.

[Radisic] After the war ended, that is, after the Dayton agreement was signed, a new atmosphere was created in the SPRS, one that enabled a more or less normal life. However, despite the fact that the peace agreement was a painful compromise for us all, peace enables life to be organized in the newly created conditions. It also enables a development of the society to be secured, as well as the development's progress and a happier future. After the Dayton agreement, the party life was also vitalized, and this can also not be, and should not be, disregarded.

Croatia: Tadjman Addresses HDZ Youth Convention

LD2807103796 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1340 GMT 27 Jul 96

[“Excerpts” of address by Croatian President Franjo Tadjman at convention of HDZ youth in Split on 27 July—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ladies and gentlemen, dear party friends, youth of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union], I am glad to be here with you. I am young anyway, but with you I feel even younger [audience applauds].

Had we not been young and had the wisdom of an old man and the determination of a man in his prime, we would not be here today in the eternal Split, we would not have our Croatia. We were all this, and although this is an achievement of all Croatian generations and all classes of the Croatian nation, historic necessity forces the young generations to bear the brunt at all historic moments. The same happened here.

We had to wage political battles and fight on the battlefields in the war for the homeland; the war to defend every inch of the Croatian land and regain control of the occupied territories; the war for Croatian freedom and Croatian democracy; the war for the recognition of our Croatia. Since the 12th century the world knew nothing about an independent Croatia. They did not allow us—young or old—to learn more about independent Croatia and its creation between the 7th and 12th centuries, when Croatia was an important factor in this region, because they wanted to destroy the self-awareness of the Croatian people, Croatian man, and Croatian youth—their self-awareness and identity. You and we, all generations of the Croatian nation, have the task of rebuilding the Croatian state, the Croatia of Domagoj and Trpimir, of Tomislav, Kresimir, and Zvonimir.

We have created Croatian freedom, Croatian democracy, and the Croatian state through reconciliation, the reconciliation of all classes and all generations of the Croatian people. Indeed, all of us, all of you young people can be proud of that. Not a single nation in Europe, I can even say in the world—and no one can prove me wrong by citing facts—has achieved such a national revival as the Croatian people, above all in reconciling the Croatia of the homeland and the diaspora. Unfortunately, there are as many of us abroad as in the homeland. If this is so, we must ask ourselves, all those who are active on the Croatian political scene, and those in the world who want to determine our fate: Why did those who created and revived the Croatian state have

to be removed from the political scene in recent years since 1992? Let them answer this. We who have created it, we will know how to preserve it and how to strengthen Croatian freedom and Croatian democracy.

We know what the world is like—Europe and the world, all international factors. They take into consideration first and foremost their own national, state, and hegemonic interests, and they do not care about the freedoms and rights of other nations if these nations are not capable of fighting for, preserving, and strengthening their freedom. We know that they wanted to keep the former Yugoslavia together at any cost. We know that they wanted to see us defeated in the war between 1990 and late 1991. They imposed an embargo on arms to Croatia when the Yugo-communist army was the fourth strongest military force in Europe and when they knew that they had enough weapons for years of fighting. They left us barehanded to be destroyed. They wanted to see those who went into the war for freedom, democracy, and the independence of the Croatian state removed from the face of the earth.

However, we, our party, put forward—on behalf of the whole people, or a majority of the people—the idea of reviving Croatian freedom and sovereignty, and we have managed to withstand all temptations and all efforts. [sentence as heard] We have created our Croatian state. We beat the enemy even as European and world powers told us not to attack them because we would cause an international catastrophe, and said that Croatia was not capable of liberating Knin and other occupied areas—even after Operation Flash and after I issued orders to launch Operation Storm for the liberation of Knin and western and central Croatia. But we did it.

Of course, after we altered the strategic balance in the territory of the former Yugoslavia and this part of the Balkans and southeastern Europe, we forced those same international factors to recognize us, but we did not manage to dispel their ideas about the setup of a new international order in this part of the world. So they are trying in this or that way to push us back into the Balkan frameworks where we do not belong, because throughout our history, throughout the 14 centuries we have lived here between the Adriatic and the Drava and Danube Rivers, we have belonged to Central Europe and Western civilization.

We must remind them that in ancient times the Roman Empire split into the eastern and western parts in this region, and Christianity split into Catholicism and Orthodoxy, which caused rifts in civilizations. The Ottoman invasion of this area introduced Islam as the third element of civilization. We are not dealing solely with some international players' aspiration to protect

their own spheres of interest but also with differences and conflicts of civilizations.

Dear young friends, since time immemorial there has only been talk about which world power, which international factor will—in addition to preserving or strengthening their own state—impose their dominance on other states and other nations. All ideologies have attempted this by resorting to anything from Catholic universalism in the Middle Ages, to great ideas of democracy and socialism or fascism in more recent history. They forget that the idea of democracy and liberalism was born precisely from the evils that mankind, including the Croatian people, experienced under the rule of communism and fascism. So all these great ideas were taken up by great powers in order to impose their supremacy and rule on certain areas of the world, or the world as a whole.

We, the Croatian people, have managed to survive despite everything from our earliest history to today. Today, too, we are the victims of the international community's games, manipulations, and speculations. However, on the basis of our entire historic experience, on the basis of the democratic order we have created, on the basis of Croatian freedom and our strength, we will not let them play with us as they have done in the past.

Of course, we are not blind to international circumstances. We have managed to achieve what we have achieved because we consistently defended our state and national interests, and also because we took into consideration international (circumstances).

However, we know where the limits of our tolerance and our constructive attitude to international factors are. We have taken on our portion of the tasks in resolving the crisis, not only the liberation of the occupied Croatian areas, but also resolving the Bosnian crisis, which is one of the most complex in the modern world.

We helped the Croatian national identity [hrvatstvo] survive in Bosnia-Herzegovina and preserves Herzegovina and the Croatian national identity in Bosnia by defending them from the Yugo-communist and Serb aggression, as well as Muslim extremists. With our military victories—which no one expected, believed in, or wanted—we made it possible for the United States to play a leading role in reaching the Washington and Dayton agreements and restoring peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We made possible and accepted the creation of the Croat-Muslim Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, with plans to link it with Croatia in order to defend the national and state interests of the Croatian state and the Croatian national identity in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia's strategic interests, and also the

strategic interests of Western civilization. Despite all this, we are subjected to attempts to compromise the Washington and Dayton agreements over all problems encountered in the process of building the Federation and resolving the Bosnian crisis: from Mostar to establishing the federal government and the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and attempts to blame Croatia for disagreements between Europe as a whole or certain European countries and the United States and Russia, which they are unable to resolve among themselves, and to pass on to Croatia the responsibility for the failure of their own policy.

We, at the highest level of the Croatian state policy and Croat representatives in the Federation, will soon respond to the latest ultimatum-like demands by the European and world factors and make decisions that will be in the interest of the Croatian state and the Croatian national identity in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as in the interest of Europe and the Western world. However, we will not let them impose on us solutions that would be either humiliating for a proud Croatia, which can be proud of its contribution to democracy in Europe and the world, or which would be contrary to the interests of the Croatian state and the Croatian national identity. Rest assured that the Croatian leaders, who knew how to pursue the policy that has ensured successes, will know how to make the right decisions at this critical moment. Of course, in this we are counting on support from you, young people, all the young people of Croatia and all segments of the majority of the Croatian nation.

Let me remind you—many of you were probably at the session of the HDZ main committee in January this year, when for the first time we revealed the threat of forcing Croatia to join some Balkan associations: Euroslavias, Balkan confederations, unions of southeastern Europe, etc. Many from abroad and from opposition parties on the domestic political scene then said that we were inventing this danger. Since then they have all been reassured.

A Croatian parliamentary delegation has recently returned from the European Parliament. Officials there told us directly: We are offering you 1 million ECUs for the countries of the former Yugoslavia. They are setting up telecommunications for the entire area, convening meetings with all ministries—from the Foreign Ministry to the Defense Ministry and the constitutional courts—in order to later deal us a blow, not knowing that in this way they would not be able to achieve peace or create conditions for the stability of a new order, but that in this way they would make things even worse than they had been before.

For this reason we will not agree to these solutions, and we are convinced we shall have the support of the majority of the Croatian people—that responsible people on the Croatian political scene will understand, as will responsible players in Europe, the United States, and the world, that this is in the interest of the final settlement of the crisis created by the collapse of communist Yugoslavia, the crisis caused by the terrible Yugoslav communist and Serbian aggression against Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We have always contributed to constructive solutions. The guarantee of our security in this respect is what we have achieved, our strength, the strength of our political and democratic system, the strength of a united Croatia at home and abroad, the strength of our Armed Forces. There is no force that can defeat us and impose on us its solution unless we were to bring it upon ourselves through lack of unity and harmony.

However, I am convinced—as I have been convinced since the beginning, since 1989—in the victory of Croatian self-awareness, Croatian freedom, and Croatian statehood. I am still convinced in it today—in the success of our policy.

Enough of the international circumstances, which we must not forget at any one moment. Dear young HDZ friends, in order to pursue a successful international policy, we must resolve our internal problems, the reconstruction of Croatia. Here again we are faced with pseudo-politics and dilettantism, as if in these five, six years we could have resolved all these problems, which exist even in the states that go back for centuries and are not threatened by anyone. Is it not enough that we have created our own state, freedom, democracy, army, diplomatic corps—so it can all be written down in golden letters in the history of the Croatian nation, Europe, and mankind?

It is only natural that we are facing certain problems. All other states have them. Just look at our accomplishments—are they not a miracle recognized by international economic, financial, and military circles? We did it despite the fact that almost one third of Croatia was occupied, despite almost 500,000 Croatian refugees—not only Croats, but also Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, and others. Almost as many refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina arrived here; today there are still around 180,000 of them here.

This Croatia lived on without [word indistinct]; it lived on. There were several days of power cuts. However, we solved that here in Dalmatia even during the stage when links between southern and northern Croatia were interrupted.

Today we have certain economic problems. It is true that civil servants' wages are low and pensions are small, but they are nevertheless bigger than in other former Soviet bloc states, which did not have to go through everything that we had to go through. This transformation from a communist into a democratic, free market system is not a road to heaven strewn with roses; it is a road covered with many thorns. We have managed to achieve results that guarantee our security today and in the future.

Half of the Croatian economy has already been privatized. More than 50 percent of workers are employed in the private sector. Our civil servants' wages are low and pensions are small, but our economy is developing in such a way that we already have good wages. After the definite liberation of the occupied areas—i.e., the areas of eastern Croatia under the UNTAES [United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia] administration—we will be able to completely devote ourselves to economic and cultural development, and we will be able to achieve results in this field that will guarantee the prosperity of the Croatian people.

People will not only stop leaving Croatia, but thousands of Croats have already returned. They took part in the setting up of the Croatian state and its freedom and now they are taking part in the building of the Croatian homeland.

One of the vital tasks of you young ones, in particular, is to return your generation from the world where, it is obvious, they can find a temporary solution for their problems but cannot find their homeland. Therefore, one of the vital tasks for all of us, for all generations and for the overall policy of the state, is to bring back the Croats living abroad. Over the next few years we have to bring back at least 20 percent of them because there are as many of us living abroad as there are here. Our liberated Croatia is too deserted even though it can feed and provide prosperity for a population four times larger than its current one. This is one of the vital tasks.

A further task is to stimulate the demographic development of the homeland. There is also the struggle against negative trends, which are an integral part of every society, of all states in this world. These trends have also been caused by the breakdown of the former social and state system and the transition to the new system. Owing to the fact that we had opted for reconciliation and did not want and could not remove all the old ones from the political scene... [pauses] We must be aware that three-quarters of a million Croats were linked to the old communist, socialist, and Yugoslav system in some way. Many of them were still linked to that system because of their ideas, family relations, etc. Therefore, we could not remove it in a radical way, and it is now abus-

ing our democracy and placing obstacles in our way, not only in tabloids or certain legal and judicial bodies. Yesterday I received this letter saying: President, four years ago a lower court passed a decision and since then the case has been stuck in a higher court even though it is a simple one to resolve.

This is not an isolated case. All of us within the state authorities and all of you young people must lead this struggle against negative trends and the abuse of power, against all remnants of the old Yugo-unitarist and communist order.

Alongside the [word indistinct] political and economic renewal, international recognition, and the strength we gained, we must persistently strive for a moral renewal, toward creating a moral basis for the stability of Croatian freedom and Croatian democracy and the Croatian state in the future.

We will not embark on any kind of revanchism, but we will also not allow our democracy to be sold at home or abroad by those who once were the exponents of the Croatian people in the previous Yugoslavia and the exponents of the communist regime. Such hypocrites are being taken as an example of such democracy [as heard].

Dear young friends, neither you nor we will let them play games any longer with us in this way and sell us a pig in a poke. We were clever enough, wise enough, and determined enough to take over our Croatian ship, which was sailing under foreign flags—remember how there were no Croatian flags on Croatian ships, only foreign ones—and we hoisted the Croatian flag not only on small vessels but also on warships and on the Croatian state ship, knowing how to sail on those stormy seas, straits, and oceans, and we will know how to in the future.

I am convinced that most Croatian people, most Croatian young people, people of all generations and from all layers of society, will know how to continue this policy, as we all have sufficient experience drawn from our difficult past. There is no Croatian family at home or abroad that has not made a sacrifice to the Croatian homeland, from WWII until today. This is what we must not forget. If we bear in mind all these historic experiences and if we know what we want to achieve, no one will be able to set the conditions that would be totally unacceptable for us. We will not be blind or deaf to international relations, but we will not be able and we would not dare depart from the fundamental national interests for the sake of the Croatian people, for the sake of our freedom, our democracy, and our Croatian state, which we renewed and restored to the level of what it had been at the time of [Kings] Tomislav and Kresimir.

Dear young friends, I thank you once again for everything you have given and done, and I remind you that it is up to you to take the scepter in your hands, to fight for Croatia and for the Croatian future. I believe in you and I believe in our Croatia. May you live long.

Croatia: PM Matesa To Demand Elections in E. Slavonia

LD3007121096 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 30 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A demand for elections in the Croatian part of the River Danube Basin [Serb-held Eastern Slavonia] in December 1996 will be sent to General Jacques Klein [head of the United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia—UNTAES] tomorrow, Croatian Prime Minister Zlatko Matesa said at a regular Croatian Government news conference in Zagreb today.

Prime Minister Matesa also said that he would insist on the opening of border crossings [with Hungary and Serbia] and said that the Udvar border crossing with Hungary could be opened as early as 15 August. [passage omitted]

Croatia: UNHCR Says Abdic Refugee Camp To Close 31 Jul

AU3007102596 Paris AFP in English
0924 GMT 30 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ZAGREB, July 30 (AFP)—A refugee camp that is home to the last 2,000 followers of a rebel Bosnian Moslem will be closed down as of Wednesday, a spokeswoman for the UN refugee agency said.

The closure, decided by the Croatian government, is expected to take several days, spokeswoman Alemka Lisinski said.

Some 20,000 Bosnian Moslems—followers of the Moslem rebel Fikret Abdic—fled to the camp at Kupljensko, south of Zagreb last year when Bosnian army forces pushed the rebels out of their stronghold in northwest Bosnia.

Most of those, after surviving in appalling conditions over the end of the year, have returned to their former homes in Bosnia this year, Lisinski said.

She said the 2,000 left would allowed to "remain in other refugee camps in Croatia, go to a third country (if it accepts them) or return to Bosnia."

If they stay on as refugees they "will be given refugee status and allowed to vote in the Bosnian elections" scheduled for September 14.

Croatia had always refused to allow the Moslems formal refugee status and refused to allow them to leave the camp. Aid agencies earlier this year heavily criticised Zagreb for its treatment of the refugees.

Accused by Sarajevo authorities of committing war crimes in Bosnia during his alliance with the Bosnian and Croatian Serbs, Abdic himself has been allowed to live untroubled in Croatia for the past year.

Earlier this month, he launched in Zagreb his campaign for the forthcoming elections. Abdic, who won the most votes in Bosnia's first multi-party elections in 1990, is expected mainly to campaign in Croat-controlled areas in Bosnia.

In a separate development, the Hungarian interior ministry said it was to close a camp of 600 Bosnian refugees at Nagyatad, southwest of Budapest, because of a lack of funds.

The ministry said the refugees would be transferred to another camp at Debrecen.

Croatia: Stanimirovic Warns Serb Exodus Possible
AU2907193896 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 26 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] In yesterday's talks with Antoin MacUnfraidh, head of the EC Monitoring Mission [ECMM], Dr. Vojislav Stanimirovic, president of the Executive Council of the Serb Province of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, said that a exodus of the Serbs is possible unless conditions are created for the protection of elementary human rights of the people who live in the province at present.

After the meeting, he told correspondents that the topics he discussed with the Irish diplomat were the Erdut Agreement implementation, the economic situation in the province, special status, and other issues.

I introduced the head of the ECMM to the flaws in the Croatian amnesty law, said Dr. Stanimirovic, adding that a protest letter was sent to General Klein regarding the partial law, and that Klein has forwarded it to the UN Security Council.

Ambassador MacUnfraidh was interested in the protests and dissatisfaction of the people in the province. Protests are the expression of the people's dissatisfaction with the Erdut Agreement implementation, said the provincial prime minister.

As, commenting on the moving of the regional monitoring mission from Djakovo to Vukovar, [passage indistinct], Ambassador MacUnfraidh would not comment on his teams' reports on the situation of the Serbs in

Kordun, Banija, western Slavonia, and other parts of Croatia from which Serbs were expelled last year.

It is not up to us to control violations of human rights; we are merely a monitoring mission, Antoin MacUnfraidh, head of the ECMM, said in a rather insecure and undetermined way, after his talks with Dr. Stanimirovic in Vukovar yesterday.

Croatia: Serb Commentary Sees 'Hatred' in Croat Media

AU2907191896 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 26 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Dark clouds of crisis have gathered over the Croatian media that promote the politics of the party in power. The circulation of VJESNIK is 13,000; it has dropped to its lowest level ever. Croatian Television is disturbed by affairs accompanied by suspensions, and the most famous correspondents are leaving. Various alternative and opposition papers are taking over the free space.

The concept of the Croatian media in the past 10 years can be summarized by the following: establishing hatred and (?cynicism) towards the Serbs.

With the disappearance of the Serbs, only the hatred remained. The object of hatred is no longer present, and it is enemies that hatred needs the most—if there are none, it will produce some.

It is in this context that the indications of the new differentiation on the Croatian political scene should be viewed. They are characterized by heavy political judgments, correspondents standing trial, the persecution of persons with different views, threats, and blackmail.

The HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] believes that Croatia's greatest enemies are Yugo-nostalgic persons, who make up 20 percent of the Croats. According to Franjo Tudjman, there are some [word indistinct]—Chetnik sympathizers—among them.

The main goal of this frantic search for enemies is to legalize the latest redistribution of goods and the establishment of the new capitalist [as heard] in Croatia.

Our colleague Dobric recently talked to a confirmed Serb-hater and was astonished when the latter told him he was an Ustasha, but is a supporter of the view that the Serbs should remain in Croatia since, as he said, if all the Serbs leave, they will not be able to relieve their tensions and start killing one another.

A smart person once said that hatred and cynicism lead to (?emptiness). The state-forming Croats have fostered the hatred towards the Serbs for centuries, believing that

hatred is the seed of future statehood. The state is here, but the hatred has also been born and it needs to be fed, says Stanimir Dobric at the end of his commentary.

Croatia: All Serb Media To Follow Same Editorial Policy

AU2907191296 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 26 Jul 96

[Report by Ljiljana Dajic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Vaso Zigic chaired today's regular session of the Executive Council of the Beli Manastir Municipal Assembly in Beli Manastir. Ljiljana Dajic was at the session.

[Dajic] The Baranja authorities will continue to consistently observe the provisions of the main agreement on eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem as the starting point in all contacts and negotiations with representatives of UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia] and Croatia. The Serb side has displayed an exceptionally high degree of cooperativeness in the contacts made so far and sometimes, as was the case with the recent events in Luc and Bilje and the unannounced visits of Croatian officials to the Baranja area, this was taken advantage of.

These were the main points made at today's discussion of the first item on the agenda at the regular session of the Executive Council of the Beli Manastir Municipal Assembly. The item related to the cooperation with UNTAES within the past 10 days.

Members of the Executive Council paid particular attention to issues relating to the media, on which reports were submitted by Dr. Radislav Mutavdzic, acting director of Beli Manastir Radio and Television, and Petko Koprivica, its editor in chief. It was stated at the session that Beli Manastir Radio and Television, with the help of a Serbian Radio and Television expert team, has, despite the great financial difficulties and lack of equipment and professional staff, fully carried out its task of providing information objectively and promptly.

The media that are not based in the Baranja area were also discussed at the session, and the first issue of *BARANJSKA REC*—the subtitle of which is the First Independent Baranja Paper—was also discussed. It was decided that all the media must be registered with the Secretariat for Information, as well as that, with respect to the essential, existential interests of the Serb people in the area, all the media must follow the same editorial policy. [passage omitted]

30 July 1996

**FYROM: Albanians Demonstrate Outside U.S.
Embassy***AU2907175796 Skopje MIC in English 29 Jul 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Under the organization of the oppositional parties of the Albanians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]—PDPA [Party for Democratic Prosperity of Albanians], NDP [People's Democratic Party], and the Student Union of the university in Mala Recica, peaceful demonstrations were organized in Skopje on Friday, in front of the UNPREDEP [UN Preventive Deployment Force] mission and the U.S. embassy. About 2,000 demonstrators demanded the release of the president of the illegal university in Tetovo Fadil Sulejmani and the president of the university Senate Milaim Fejziu. The representatives of the demonstrators submitted an appeal asking the international community to support their demands and to legalize the university in Albanian language in Macedonia.

The same appeal was also submitted to the OSCE mission.

**FYROM: Tetovo Arrests Said To Undermine
Stability***AU2507124496 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian
1056 GMT 25 Jul 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Pristina, 25 July (BETA)—The arrest of the dean of the Albanian University in Tetovo and other managers of this institution, which the Macedonian authorities do not recognize, sparked indignation and protests among the Albanians in Kosovo and Montenegro, the Albanian Pristina daily BUIJKU writes today.

The article emphasizes that "the repeated arrest of the management of the Tetovo University is an ill-judged decision and a step that seriously undermines the stability in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)."

BUIJKU, which is close to the Democratic League of Kosovo, also emphasizes that numerous mass protests and demonstrations organized by the Albanian population in FYROM "are yet another strong message that the Albanians are no longer willing to tolerate the political actions of the Macedonian authorities that endanger their fundamental rights."

This weekly warns the Macedonian authorities as well as the international factors that necessary measures should be taken to preserve the stability in the region, because "so far we have not paid sufficient attention to the frustration of the Albanians in FYROM."

BUIJKU also condemns official Tirana, which, "perhaps to win the compliments from the West as a factor of stability in the Balkans, failed to publicly and issue a protest to Skopje over the repressive policy of the Macedonian authorities toward the Albanians."

**FYROM: Democrats Express Concern Over Tetovo
Rally***AU2607200596 Skopje MIC in English 26 Jul 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Democratic Party of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] expressed concern at yesterday's press conference over the "militant nature of the last meeting in Tetovo, prompted by the deserved prison sentences of the leaders of the self-proclaimed Tetovo university," and emphasized its surprise at authorities' tolerance of the insults addressed to the state and the Macedonian people, as well as the praising of foreign symbols.

The leader of this party Tomislav Stojanovski made accusations against the Interior Ministry Department-Tetovo for not taking appropriate actions to protect the people and property of the citizens of Tetovo in the last meeting. "We demand protection" in Tetovo.

**FYROM: Association of Aegean Macedonians
Holds Meeting***AU2907180196 Skopje MIC in English 29 Jul 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Under the organization of the Association of Macedonians from the Aegean part of Macedonia, based in Bitola, a traditional meeting was held on Sunday, which was attended by several thousand visitors and Macedonian immigrants from across the world.

The president of this Association, Aleksandar Popovski, said in front of the visitors and immigrants that the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] government has been asked to help the Macedonians from Aegean Macedonia realize their right to enter Greece and visit their birthplaces without any hindrances.

The gathering was also addressed by the Macedonian Foreign Minister Ljubomir Prckovski who said, among the rest, that Macedonia was one of the rare countries to achieve independence by peaceful means. "In effect, Macedonia was the most independent country as it built its idea about independence with belief and determination," Prckovski said.

The minister added that in recent times, the government is extensively reviewing the question of the life of the Macedonians in the neighboring countries, and that it has decided not to make any concessions in its settlement as part of the established international conventions and documents.

A petition was read in front of the gathering, appealing to the overall European public, the EU, the Council of Europe and the UN, to intercede with the Greek state

30 July 1996

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

47

to implement and respect the international conventions and human rights agreements.

FYROM: Emigrant Society Holds Roundtable

AU2907181896 Skopje MIC in English 29 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Macedonian emigrants have to bridge all the to-date divisions through a process of their own unification. Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], as their common homeland, should draw up a long-term strategy to strengthen the links with them, whereby it will also be necessary to redefine the role of the Macedonian Emigrant Society. The emigrants have to find their own direct interest in the establishment of business links with the homeland, which is only one of the fields through which the mutual connections have to grow stronger.

This was the main message from the roundtable dedicated to the situation of the Macedonian emigrants, held as part of the commemoration of the 40th jubilee of the Macedonian Emigrant Society.

Participating in the celebration were Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski and Foreign Minister Ljubomir Prckovski. "No one has the exclusive right over patriotism. This is our common homeland. It's important for our emigrants to unite. Some divisions among the emigrants were carried out from Macedonia, which is our fault. It is necessary to have a strong emigrant lobby. I'm not calling on you to invest out of love, but to recognize your business interest and thereby be present here," said Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski.

Foreign Minister Ljubomir Prckovski stated that: "The Macedonian Emigrant Society has to tread forward towards its own unification. The question of the non-Macedonian emigrants has to be opened, such as the Albanians, Turks, Jews...who have to find their own place in the Society."

Prckovski added that "Macedonia will initiate the procedure for acquiring the constitutional name at the UN, when it deems fit." Macedonia is finalizing its diplomatic network, whereby in the relations with Australia, the problem arises over their request that the embassy be "nonresidential," that is, without a permanent building. "We are putting pressure to open a residential embassy. If that lasts too long, we will turn to opening consulates," Prckovski explained.

He also told the emigrants that the Macedonian Foreign Ministry has pointed out that Greece is violating the articles from the Interim Accord. In addition, Macedonia has reacted with the ambassador of Albania in Skopje over the discrimination against the Macedonians in this neighboring country.

FYROM: Flights to Sarajevo Planned for B-H Refugees

AU3007095696 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1836 GMT 29 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 29 Jul (BETA)—The Macedonian humanitarian organization "El Hilal" in co-operation with Macedonian state institutions has organized four flights per week on the Skopje-Sarajevo line for the return of refugees to Bosnia-Herzegovina, MAKPRES reports.

This humanitarian organization is calling on all Bosnian refugees currently in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], both in private and collective accommodation to report to it in order to be added to the list of people who want to return to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

First flights are planned for 31 July and 1 August.

FYROM: Personnel Changes at Nova Makedonija Company

AU3007130996 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 15 Jul 96 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Organizational and Personnel Changes in Newspaper Publishing Enterprise Nova Makedonija"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] With a view to ensuring the activity of the enterprise and completing the process of the transformation of the social enterprise into a stock company, certain organizational and personnel changes have been performed in the Nova Makedonija Newspaper Publishing Enterprise.

The Workers Council has decided to introduce the post of deputy director general. Appointed to that post is Georgi Ajanovski, former chief and responsible editor of the NOVA MAKEDONIJA newspaper. Until a new person is appointed, the post of acting chief and responsible editor will be occupied by Director General Pande Kolemisevski.

With the new organization, the Marketing Unit is divided into two departments. Julijana Piscecka has been appointed acting director of the sales and promotion department and Danco Gligorovski has been appointed acting director of the goods and workers department.

Vasilije Stavric, former director of the enterprise, has been appointed assistant director general. Strate Kulovski is appointed assistant director general in charge of commercial organization, planning, and analysis, and Aleksandar Andonovski is appointed assistant director general in charge of finances. [passage omitted]

Romania: Chief of Staff Says \$2.5 Billion Needed To Equip Army*AU2707181496 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 22 Jul 96 p 1*

[Unattributed article: "\$2.5 Billion Is Necessary To Properly Equip the Romanian Army by the Year 2000—That Is Exactly the 'Cost' of Corruption in a Year"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Army Corps General Dumitru Cioflina, head of the General Staff of the Romanian Army, believes that "in order to correct the alarming situation currently prevailing in the Army equipment and to enhance new organizational structures, it is necessary that a minimum of \$2.5 billion be allotted to the Army by the year 2000."

This opinion is included in a broader study in which General Cioflina mentions that 314.4 billion lei are needed in 1996 for commencing programs on modernization of the military technology; however, no more than 156.7 billion lei can be allotted for this purpose.

From a quantitative viewpoint, equipping the Army has been properly carried out; however, under a qualitative aspect "the situation is alarming because over 60 percent of the existing technology is outdated, with technical-tactical performance that is below that of equipment in other modern armies." In this situation, the chief of the General Staff says that the Ministry of National Defense elaborated programs for equipping and modernizing the Army, which were forwarded to the Country's Supreme Defense Council and have been endorsed as follows:

—Programs on equipping the Army with new technology: FPS-17 three-dimensional radar stations, under implementation since 1995; a network of STAR microwave transmitters, under implementation since 1995; higher frequency radio stations, including transfer of technology to manufacture them in our country, under implementation since 1995; C-130 Hercules transport planes, under implementation since 1995; "Cargo" and "Sageata" ammunition for modern artillery, under implementation since 1993.

—Modernization programs: MiG-21 planes, under implementation since 1994; IAR-330 helicopters, under implementation since 1995; 30mm-caliber antiaircraft systems, under implementation since 1995; STAR-1 radar stations, under implementation since 1994; "Jegalia" and "Capul Midia" artillery and antiaircraft artillery shooting grounds, under implementation since 1993.

Romania: Bishop Tokes Urges Hungarian 'National Strategy'*AU2907172996 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 27 Jul 96 p 8*

[Interview with Laszlo Tokes, ethnic Hungarian Presbyterian bishop of Oradea, by Dezso Pinter; place and date not given: "I Will Not Give Up the Struggle"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Pinter] In Romania's political life and in evaluating the affairs of the ethnic Hungarian minority in Romania, do you see any favorable changes and do you experience any gestures that support President Iliescu's ideas on reconciliation?

[Tokes] We can give a correct answer to this if we analyze Iliescu's reconciliation proposal in connection with the planned basic treaty. The fact that, immediately after the publication of the aforementioned proposal and despite the firm opposition of the ethnic Hungarian minority, they adopted the education law that affects us painfully drastically contradicts Bucharest's alleged good will. The same applies to the Slovak language law.

[Pinter] What would explain the logic behind such contradictory political manifestations?

[Tokes] Hardly an honest intention or a convincing historical view. Big words are not followed by perceptible changes in everyday life. If, for example, they opened a Hungarian consulate in Romania, then that would show something. They are trying to avoid such gestures. Under such circumstances, the Romanian reconciliation initiative and the basic treaty signed with Bratislava can only be aimed at hiding the real political practice, diverting people's attention, and deceit.

[Pinter] Months ago you said that the Hungarian Government wanted to sign a Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty by all means. Have you changed your opinion about this?

[Tokes] We must admit that the stand of the political leadership of ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania was not without effect. If the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ—UDMR in Romanian] had not made its voice heard in connection with the planned Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty at the proper time and in the proper form, this inadequate document might have already been signed. If the Hungarian Government did not want to take into account our interests and views—something that I do not presume—then they still have no other choice but to postpone the signing of the treaty.

[Pinter] On what issues do ethnic Hungarians abroad have the most debates with the Hungarian Government?

[Tokes] Previously the basic treaties gave rise to such debates; today, the issue of Hungary's European integration strategy and its national strategy are at the focus of debates. It is very important that the Hungarian Government should have not only a state policy strategy, but also a real national strategy. There are major differences between the two strategies because the national and state borders are hardly the same. The prevailing Hungarian government cannot afford to conduct a narrow state policy. A national state like Romania, whose national and state borders are mostly identical, can afford to conduct a state policy, and they even try to extend this policy to the ethnic Romanians in Moldova. With the exception of Hungary, all the neighboring governments have been conducting a national policy since 1989. Obviously, this was not difficult in some cases but, for example, there was no such thing as an independent Slovakia; nevertheless, they chose the national policy trend. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] In your view, what kind of autonomy do the ethnic Hungarians abroad need?

[Tokes] The work is only starting. The various ethnic communities are living under such different circumstances that we need to formulate several models. One should put the principle of autonomy into practice in

accordance with the given circumstances. Actually, we are talking here about a limited self-determination. The majority national states in which we are living are not willing to accept the community's right to autonomy.

[Pinter] To what extent does existing practice in Europe provide any help?

[Tokes] It provides a very good example because there are quite serious autonomies in Europe and outside Europe as well. Thus, the autonomy practiced in South Tyrol is good for us, just like the one practiced in Finland, an autonomy that guarantees extremely valuable rights to the Swedish minority there. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] What do Romanian policy and society think about autonomy?

[Tokes] We face a considerable lack of understanding and an unfortunate lack of knowledge here. It is sometimes quite alarming to see how little the parties that call themselves democratic have heard about autonomy. We must carry out an actual propagation of knowledge, and it is very difficult to break the wall of rejection. [passage omitted]

Slovenia: 'Tight' Outcome Predicted for Fall Elections

AU2907153096 Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 22 Jul 96 p 1-3

[FBIS Summary] Vlado Miheljak reports the results of DNEVNIK's regular monthly opinion poll on the popularity of the government and political parties.

The poll reportedly was carried out on 17 July among 642 randomly chosen telephone subscribers, including 254 who were either unavailable, did not wish to participate, or did not meet the selection criteria.

Asked whether they support the policy of Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek, 60.3 percent of the pollees replied affirmatively, 24.2 negatively, and 15.6 percent did not know.

Asked which party they would vote for were the elections held today, the following answers were given:

Democratic Party—3.8 percent

Liberal Party of Slovenia—19.6 percent

Social Democratic Party—7.7 percent

Slovene People's Party—5.3 percent

Slovene Christian Democrats—4.3 percent

United List of Social Democrats—6.0 percent

Greens of Slovenia—2.9 percent

Slovene National Party—3.1 percent

Other—1.2 percent

Do not know—28.7 percent

I would not vote—17.5 percent

In the accompanying text Miheljak devotes considerable attention to the Democratic Party. He does not believe that the party will share the fate of the Slovene National Party (SNS), which achieved "a meteoric rise" in the previous elections, only to fumble equally rapidly af-

terward. He states that "Persak's Democrats are spreading their influence completely differently than Jelincic [SNS president] did four years ago. Some say that Persak, Simsic, and Bucar are gathering votes slowly but steadily, just like a squirrel. The accompanying graph shows that this appears to be paying off because the Democratic Party, in the long run, sports a considerably more favorable trend than any other party." The graph indicates the party's popularity, with a couple of exceptions, has been rising steadily since August 1995, when support for the party was under 2 percent, until July 1996, when its support rose to some 8 percent.

Miheljak anticipates that by the elections the Democratic Party will catch up with the United List and the Slovene Peoples Party, while "according to our calculations, it has already drawn level with the Slovene Christian Democrats [SKD]." Miheljak, however, believes nevertheless that the SKD will score more at the elections since the SKD's electorate is usually under-represented in telephone opinion polls.

Miheljak points out that its main rivals, the Liberal Democratic of Slovenia (LDS) and the Social Democratic Party, cannot boast "such favorable trends." According to him, the Social Democrats have reached a plateau and have not increased their popularity in months.

Miheljak expects that the outcome of the elections will be "tight," which prompts him to conclude that "none of the parties from the strongest LDS to the weakest Slovene National Party can be ruled out in advance as possible partners in a future government coalition."

Slovenia: Foreign Debt Reported at \$2.975 Billion

AU2707171296 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 27 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovenia's foreign debt totaled \$2.975 billion at the end of May. The long-term debt amounted to \$2.937 million and the short-term debt to \$35 million. The difference of \$3 million is the used IMF resources. The Bulletin of the National Bank of Slovenia also states that since the end of last year our country's foreign debt has increased by \$5 million.

Federal

FRY: Lilic Speaks at Military Academy Graduation
LD2707184396 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1031 GMT 27 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 27 Jul (TANJUG)—We have opted for peace and done everything to achieve it, Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, said in Belgrade today at a ceremony to mark the graduation of final year students at the military academy, and their entry into the Yugoslav Army as officers.

"You have reason today to be proud of the fact that, having graduated from the military academy and obtained your military qualifications, you are continuing the exalted traditions of our glorious army commanders who, above all, knew how to preserve and defend the freedom and honor of our homeland," Lilic said in his greetings message to young officers on behalf of the Supreme Defense Council, and in his own name. He wished them success on completion of their studies and as junior officers in the Yugoslav Army. [passage omitted]

Even at this moment, which is an exalted one for all of us, "we must be aware of the seriousness of the current military and political situation in our area and further afield, too. The consequences of geopolitical turmoil in the central Balkans have not yet disappeared," Lilic continued.

The president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia said that "the living standard of people in the former Yugoslavia is far short of the promised prosperity offered by those in whose interest it was, just a few years before the start of the next millennium, to break up a sovereign and progressive country that had good prospects for successful development.

"In some capital cities of the world, illusions are nurtured, on the basis of this example, about power, omnipotence, and diktats over the legitimate rights of nations. This is a short-sighted policy. It overlooks the danger to all peoples and states regardless of their size, economic power, or political influence; it overlooks the danger facing the modern world—if force prevails in international relations, if the military factor holds sway over the forces of reason and justice," the FRY president said.

"Since the outbreak of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, we have clearly perceived these dangers. We have opted for peace and done everything to achieve it. That this is the correct option is confirmed by the fact that the FRY is practically the only multiethnic and multiconfessional state in the former Yugoslavia.

"Members of 24 nations and ethnic groups live in our country, which is the state of its citizens, and they enjoy equal civil, national, religious, cultural, and other rights and freedoms, in accordance with the highest European standards. This is how it will remain," the FRY president said.

"By fulfilling the obligations of the Dayton agreement and supporting the full application of the basic agreement on the Srem-Baranja region, our country is continuing to actively work in the direction of their consistent and full realization, because it is deeply convinced that this is the only way to achieve a lasting and stable peace in the region," Lilic said.

"The FRY took an active part in the talks on regional disarmament in Vienna, is cooperating with the international war crimes tribunal in The Hague, and is actively contributing to the consistent implementation of the peace agreement," the FRY president stressed.

"I would like to stress on this occasion that we have genuinely endorsed subregional arms control and have indicated readiness on our part to do everything we can to reduce the tension and mistrust between the peoples of this area. This is why we are rightly concerned by the persistence of certain powers outside the region in delivering fresh supplies of weapons, while at the same time advocating peace on the grounds of, as they say, restoring the strategic balance in the region to the advantage of one side in the recent civil war, which of course excludes another," he added.

"Nevertheless, there is clear evidence that the seven months of implementing the peace agreement have shown that the period of war, destruction, and senseless killing has already been assigned to the past and that the great majority of people are returning to normal life and work. This fully confirms the correctness of the peace orientation of the FRY.

"Of course, it would not have been possible to achieve this, still less implement it, without the support of the international community and its direct involvement. The elections in Bosnia scheduled for 14 September, a date confirmed by the international community, represent a cornerstone of the peace process. In order to avoid obstructions to holding them, it is essential to continue with efficient preparations for the elections," the FRY president stressed. [passage omitted]

"We shall remain determined in our orientation, and we expect the international community to fulfill its responsibilities toward us: to finally lift all sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and allow our full reintegration into the international political and financial institutions. Our stand is therefore absolutely un-

derstandable. The peace process cannot be completed without lifting the sanctions in full and restoring the international and legal legitimacy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia," said the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

"The reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina and other parts of the former Yugoslavia is one of the key conditions for economic recovery and the inclusion of this region in European institutions. Consequently, the equal treatment of the Serb Republic and the Muslim-Croat Federation is a vital prerequisite for the successful implementation of the Dayton agreement and lasting stability," Lilic added. [passage omitted]

We shall continue to fight against extremists of all kinds, regardless of their nationality, the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia said.

"We most strongly condemn war and terrorism as a means for the realization of a short-sighted policy by extreme nationalists and fundamentalists of all hues," Lilic said. [passage omitted]

I wish to take this opportunity to say once again, said President Lilic, "that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will continue in all its activities to advocate the principles by which it has been guided all along. Above all, this refers to the preservation of our sovereignty and integrity, the protection of legitimate rights of the Serb people outside the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and the protection of Yugoslav statehood."

"In addition to our sincere efforts aimed at the peaceful settlement of the crisis in this part of the Balkans, we must bear in mind the fact that in a modern world, unfortunately, the military factor has not yet been overcome, and it is being used abundantly in the realization of the interests of some world powers and their allies," Lilic said.

"Hence we have reason to keep abreast of all modern achievements in the development of armed forces in the world and, in keeping with our own needs and economic possibilities, apply these in the development of our own army. It goes without saying that we do this not to threaten anyone, but to discourage a possible aggressor who could threaten our borders in given circumstances," he said.

"As chairman of the Supreme Defense Council, it gives me pleasure to tell you that important steps have been made in this direction. In a relatively short period, despite shortages caused by the sanctions, we carried out a radical transformation of our army into a modern, smaller, but mostly professional army. The Supreme Defense Council and the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army are carefully monitoring developments in our

neighborhood and on the world military and political scenes and, in line with this, decided on the further modernization of the Yugoslav Army," the president said. [passage omitted]

"The Supreme Defense Council and citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia see in you a new strength of our army—young and highly trained officers soon to take your honorable place in the defense system of our country. It is now up to you, as you take up these duties, to prove with all your heart that you are the worthy successors of those who came before you!" [passage omitted]

"Yours is a very important role in the process of the overall stabilization of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. You are the ones who should guard and preserve the peace and freedom of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. May luck always be with you, young officers," Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, said in his message.

FRY: UK Advice Sought To Improve International Image

MS2907085496 *London FINANCIAL TIMES*
in English 29 Jul 96 p 2

[Report by Bruce Clark: "Belgrade Turns to UK for Advice on Image"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Serb-led state of Yugoslavia, until recently an international pariah, has hired Lowe Bell Financial, founded by the British Conservative party's advertising strategist Sir Tim Bell, to improve its image.

Lowe Bell and NatWest Markets, the investment bankers, acted as advisers to a senior Yugoslav delegation which met leading credit rating agencies in London last week in the hope of regaining access to the financial markets.

Sir Tim, a close adviser to Lady Thatcher during her successful election campaigns, has also provided public relations advice for clients ranging from Mr Boris Yeltsin, the Russian president, to the British meat and livestock commission. But the rehabilitation of rump Yugoslavia which was subject to stringent international sanctions until last year's Dayton peace agreement, will be a particularly challenging assignment.

Under the guidance of its UK advisers, the Belgrade delegation signalled a somewhat softer line in separate rows over the liabilities and assets of the communist Yugoslav state.

A three-day meeting with the London Club of commercial bank creditors, aimed at reaching an agreement

on Yugoslav debt, was described as "constructive and friendly" by the head of the Belgrade delegation, Mr Vuk Ognjanovic [as published].

Belgrade started legal action in the London High Court earlier this year in an effort to prevent the London Club from making a separate financial settlement with the former Yugoslav republic of Slovenia.

But in a hint that it was pulling back from litigation, the delegation which conducted last week's talks did not include Mr Richard Levy, the lawyer who has been acting for Belgrade in the London courts.

In another sign of a softer attitude NatWest Markets is understood to have written a conciliatory letter to the Bank of International Settlements (BIS), saying that Belgrade was willing to discuss with the BIS the division of the communist state's assets.

FRY: NBJ Denies Dropping Charges Against London Club

AU2907200796 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian
1154 GMT 29 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] London, 28 July (BETA)—The National Bank of Yugoslavia (NBJ) will not withdraw its lawsuit against the London Club, which groups the commercial banks-guarantors, until a firm agreement on its debt is reached, a British representative of the NBJ told BETA today.

"The lawsuit will not be withdrawn until a firm agreement on the debt is reached. An agreement in principle is not sufficient because the parties sometimes change their minds," Charles Manduca, a lawyer in the London firm Lovel, White, and Durran, stated over the phone from London.

This legal firm represents the NBJ and three FRY commercial banks in a lawsuit against the London Club and Slovenia over a separate agreement on the repayment of the Slovene portion of the commercial debt of the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]. The process is taking place before the high court in London.

Asked about reports that the NBJ agreed to drop its lawsuit against the London Club and Slovenia and agreed in principle not to file similar suits against the remaining republics of the former Yugoslavia, Manduca said that his firm "knows nothing about it."

Manduca explained the current lull in the dispute with the scope of the procedure, saying that "the sides are not clearly defined yet."

According to him, immediately after the sides in the dispute have been defined, "the prosecuted side will put up its defense."

He was unable to give any specific deadlines.

FRY: Czech Republic Ready To Give Credit Toward Power Plant

LD2907172196 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1713 GMT 29 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 29 (TANJUG)—Czech Ambassador to Belgrade Ivan Busniak said Monday at a meeting with Beobanka General Director Zlatan Perucic that his country was ready to allocate to Yugoslavia a 100 million dollar credit in mid-September.

The funds are to be used for the reconstruction of the Kolubara B power plant near Belgrade.

The credit would help Yugoslav economy overcome the present crisis faster and open a new chapter in bilateral relations, a Beobanka statement says.

Serbia

Serbia: Belgrade Given 1 Year To Present Case on Genocide

AU2907103796 Paris AFP in English
1028 GMT 29 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] THE HAGUE, July 29 (AFP)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has one year to present its defence to the International Court of Justice in The Hague in the case that it organised genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the court announced here Monday [29 July].

The Court said federal Yugoslavia has until July 23, 1997 to answer the genocide charges. [passage omitted]

Serbia: Kontic Said To Order Succession Group Head Replaced

AU3007120196 Belgrade DNEVNI TELEGRAF
in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jul 96 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Kosta Mihajlovic Replaced?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—DNEVNI TELEGRAF, which learned from reliable sources that Kosta Mihajlovic, head of the Federal Commission for Succession, will be replaced, has not been able to obtain confirmation of this information from Prime Minister Radoje Kontic's office. DNEVNI TELEGRAF's source claims that it was precisely Kontic who ordered Mihajlovic's replacement.

The Federal Commission for Succession has not been informed about the change at the top. DNEVNI TELEGRAF's collocutor, who wished to remain anonymous, claims that the information is inaccurate and that Mihajlovic will be in his office on Monday.

However, DNEVNI TELEGRAF's source claims that Kosta Mihajlovic, who is also President Slobodan Milosevic's economic adviser, fell from grace following a series of failures in negotiations with foreign creditors, starting with the IMF to the commercial banks in the London Club.

Those acquainted with the situation claim that Oskar Kovac's time has come. Kovac, who in spite of the fact that he is a prominent economist in the Socialist Party of Serbia, has so far had no chance to implement his expert opinions, which are essentially market oriented.

Serbia: Domestic Views on U.S. 'Influence' Polled
AU2907201296 Belgrade NEDELJNI TELEGRAF
in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jul 96 p 11

[FBIS Summary] The results of NEDELJNI TELEGRAF's recent public opinion poll are published under the headline "Do We Like the Yanks?" The telephone poll was carried out on 20 and 21 July among 300 respondents from all over Serbia, except Kosovo, of whom 88.3 percent identified themselves as Serbs. Its general conclusion is that "Serbia does not need NATO but needs U.S. capital."

Asked whether FRY should join NATO, 47 percent replied negatively, 26.3 percent affirmatively, and 26 had no opinion.

As to whose influence is more beneficial for Serbia—the European Union's or the United States'—42.3 percent believe that EU influence is better; 3 percent believe they are both equally beneficial; 15.7 percent are of the opinion that U.S. influence is better; 28.3 percent consider them both bad; while 10.7 percent cannot make up their minds. Twenty-two percent of the pollees would agree to the presence of U.S. capital in Serbia under any conditions; 39.7 percent would allow U.S. capital in only if it meant that it would not have a majority share in the companies; 13 percent oppose it altogether; while 25.3 percent cannot judge.

Asked about the consequences of John Deutsch's visit to Belgrade, 33.7 percent anticipate negative consequences; 32 percent are not aware that he had visited at all; 14.7 percent expect a positive outcome; and 19.6 percent have no opinion.

The leading politicians in the category of those believed "very much" to be under U.S. influence are Slobodan Milosevic (33 percent); Vesna Pesic (29 percent); and

Vuk Draskovic (22.7); while Seselj is thought of as the least pro-American (only 8.7 percent believe he is, while 52.3 are firmly convinced he is not influenced by the United States at all).

Vojvodina

Vojvodina: Minority Paper on Official Inaction
96BA0398E Novi Sad MAGYAR SZO in Hungarian
1 Jun 96 p 5

[Article by Arpad Hajnal: "Is Zombor a City of Peace? Threats, Physical Assault, Saber Rattling, Murder...Despite These Things, the Minister and the Mayor Are Satisfied With the Situation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sixty-year-old Zombor [Som-bor] pastry chef Gojko Zeljko of the Croatian nationality has been threatened over the phone and by mail for quite some time, urging him to leave Zombor, otherwise they would finish him off. Not too long ago he received a letter stating that this would be the final warning.... And then, in the building that houses the municipal legislative body, his neighbor—a man 20 years his junior—literally knocked him out, he fell on the floor after the first strike. He says that he lay there for an hour and a half. Nobody came to help, the security service of the municipality was not willing to call either the police or the ambulance. Zeljko filed a complaint with the Helsinki Committee. Minister in charge of minority affairs Margit Savovic and Zombor Mayor Vasa Relic reacted to the case. Anyone who believes that the two defended the otherwise respected, continually threatened man is gravely mistaken.

The Democratic Party (DP in Hungarian; DS in Serbian) and the Serbian Renewal Movement (SZMM in Hungarian; SPO in Serbian) Zombor municipal committee had their voices heard yesterday; they issued a joint communique condemning the minister and the mayor. The communique points out that public safety and relationships between nationalities are nowhere near as good as the minister and the mayor claim.

Vasa Relic said that Zombor has always been, and remains to this day a city of culture, of a high degree of tolerance between nations, and of peace; in her reply to the Helsinki Committee Margit Savovic wrote that the Committee's judgment regarding human rights was incorrect and inaccurate. All this suggests that Zombor is an oasis in which good relations between nations flourish, and in which the security of citizens is at an exemplary level.

The aforementioned two opposition parties do not quite agree with this view, and try to support their own views

with facts. For example, a few years ago Jovo Ostojic's armed group made brutal threats and disbanded a political gathering held by Nenad Canak's Social Democratic League. The same group occupied the Zombor municipal legislature's building, and demanded while brandishing arms that the elections committee change the election results. While the war raged in the former Yugoslavia, they bombed several houses owned by Croatian nationals, as well as Catholic churches. Shootings during the evening hours were everyday events, and unfortunately, shootings still occur. A diversionary group from Croatia walked through Zombor and even had dinner there, but incidents did occur even after the conclusion of the war: They disbanded non-Serb religious gatherings as well as Vesta Krmpotic's literary evening. Sadly, Zombor leads the way in Vojvodina in such actions.

Murder is no rare phenomenon either, beginning with a group of young people beating to death one of their own friends, all the way to cases that occurred recently. Settlement with revolvers, which so far have not claimed lives, are frequent; people prefer to carry pistols in their pockets over personal identification cards. After the fall of Knin and the exodus of the Serb people, bombs were thrown at Croatian homes in Orszallas (Stanisic) virtually every day, and more than 10 Croatian families were forced to escape. The perpetrators were never convicted, of course, and the information media, just like the municipal leaders, remained silent. A year or two ago in Nemesmilitics [Svetozar Miletic], special units of the Interior Ministry secretariat had to intervene to harness hooligans arriving from the neighboring village. Mile Dapic of Orszallas, the head of the West Backa district, openly threatened the former counsellor of the Zombor municipal legislature by saying that he would throw a bomb at the counsellor's home because he raised rather unpleasant questions regarding the district leader's house in Zombor....

Accordingly, in brief, this is how the city of peace looks, the city of which the mayor speaks, but the fact is that signing a statement in this regard cannot guarantee peace. Margit Savovic is the author of a famous thesis according to which each incident in which the rights and the liberty of citizens have been endangered were individual incidents, but she never explained why these individual incidents have become general phenomena. Vasa Relic's position revealed that although he works in Zombor, he lives in Disneyland, in the city of high degree of international tolerance, of peace, and of security guaranteed for every citizen. What else could this be than the manifestation of doctrines which resolve problems by pursuing ostrich policies: Relic sticks his head into the cabinet, from where he incessantly re-

ceives various decrees, communiques, and declarations about success and achievements. Minister without portfolio Margit Savovic is visibly preoccupied in the federal government with civil rights, even when they are discussing "other matters...."

"Quite naturally, we do not claim that within the country, the situation is worst in Zombor, all we want to point out is that the situation is far from being good, and that one cannot brag about the results produced so far, but one could be ashamed about these the more so. Mr. Chairman, wake up, the bell has rung!" the joint communique of the Zombor municipal committee, DP and SZMM states.

Vojvodina: Ethnic Hungarian Leader Views Minority Situation

AU2507183896 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET
in Hungarian 25 Jul 96 p 9

[Interview with Karoly Dudas, chairman of the Vojvodina Hungarian Cultural Association and member of the board of the World Federation of Hungarians, by Peter Gorgenyi; place and date not given: "Our Situation Forces Us To Cooperate—Karoly Dudas on the Plight of the Southern Region Hungarians and the Chances of Survival"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Eight months after the Dayton peace agreement, little has recently been said about the situation and fate of the Hungarians in Backa [Backa] and Banat. We interviewed Karoly Dudas, chairman of the Vojvodina Hungarian Cultural Association [VMMSZ] and member of the board of the World Federation of Hungarians [also a founder of the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians and an initiator of the Vojvodina Hungarian Federation], on the current conditions and the prospects.

[Gorgenyi] Settlements into Vojvodina have caused the largest amount of tension in recent years. What is the current situation?

[Dudas] Today, the facts are making it increasingly evident that the Serbian Republic and the Yugoslav federal government ordered the local authorities to settle people who fled their places of birth to villages and districts with Hungarian majority. It is becoming increasingly obvious that these people had not been driven away from their places of birth, rather, they had been scared and manipulated by their own system and state power. Their settlement in Vojvodina changes the very foundations of ethnic proportions and we know what this means for the Hungarians of the Southern Region [area in Yugoslavia which was part of Hungary before 1920] who are already in a difficult situation. It is positive

that, in spite of their differences, the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMDK] and the Vojvodina Hungarian Federation [VMSZ] have uniformly and firmly protested against the settlements and called for resistance against them.

[Gorgenyi] How effective was this movement?

[Dudas] As I see it, this fiendish plan of the power—which was actually conceived in the 1920s and was started to be implemented by creating villages of settlers in the areas inhabited by Hungarians—has been torpedoed. Actually, the current one is the fourth colonization, some 1 million Serbs have arrived in Vojvodina in the past 70 years. The authorities have now intended to settle more than 30,000 refugees in the Hungarian areas but, fortunately, they have not completely managed to do this. Nevertheless, we cannot be satisfied because, according to recently published data, more than 4,000 Serbs have moved to Szabadka [Subotica] for example but the actual figure is much higher.

[Gorgenyi] How is this possible?

[Dudas] Many of them are not registered because they have moved in with relatives who were settled here from Inner Serbia and Montenegro 30, 50, or 70 years ago, so they are not on the list of refugees. It is especially dangerous for the Hungarians of the Southern Region that these immigrants bring with themselves a completely different mentality, culture, and work morale—more precisely, the lack of the latter. This from the outset creates a conflict situation in the Backa-Banat area where people have been working hard for centuries. Or rather, they would work but they have fewer and fewer work opportunities and many thousands have been without jobs for years. At the same time, they can see that the authorities place the newly settled Serbs in well-paid positions and work places. Actually, in addition to the Hungarians, this also upsets the Serbs and Croats who have been living here for 200 to 300 years and are considered to be indigenous. We see this as a great injustice and constantly protest against it at every possible forum.

[Gorgenyi] In the past years, many thousands of Hungarians have fled the southern region because of the war and other reasons.

[Dudas] According to the last population census before the war, some 345,000 Hungarians were living in Vojvodina. According to our calculations, since 1991 some 35 to 40 thousand people have fled or moved away to escape the military mobilization, the various atrocities, and the increasing financial burdens and poverty. It is a tragedy that mainly members of the younger genera-

tions have left. This is the biggest blow for us because we have been afflicted by a low birth rate, aging, and an especially high suicide rate. Unfortunately, in Szeremseg [Syrmia], the Hungarians have come to the brink of complete collapse; the Hungarian word, culture, and information cannot get to places where Hungarian schools no longer exist. Our other problem is that, motivated mostly by fear, thousands of Hungarians declared themselves as "Yugoslavs" at the last census.

[Gorgenyi] You have mentioned the impossible cultural situation of Hungarians in Szeremseg. What is the situation in this respect in Backa and Banat?

[Dudas] This is the sorest point for us because, since the end of the 1980s, since the Milosevic system was set up, we have not received any financial support from the state, not even for our cultural events which preserve our national identity and have existed for decades. Support from the mother country's government is becoming increasingly symbolic, except for that of the Ministry of Culture. It is due to the latter that it now seems that book publishing in Vojvodina will be able to survive. Our educational unions and amateur cultural groups found themselves in a catastrophic situation years ago, this is the reason we set up the VMMSZ in 1992. Its goal is to coordinate the Hungarian unions and cultural institutions which were already destroyed in Tito's system and have now been further damaged. At the moment, more than 50 such organizations are members of the association and we are together trying to find the resources for our survival. We are not getting any money at all from the state, and have only received—I could say symbolic—amounts from the mother country on two occasions. At first, we were given 122,000 forints for our functioning for a year but by the time the money was sent our current account had also been frozen because of the UN embargo on Yugoslavia. On the second occasion, we were given 220,000 forints but this was also frozen.

[Gorgenyi] To what extent can the effects of the Dayton peace be felt?

[Dudas] A paradoxical situation has emerged. In spite of the fact that the embargo was lifted after Dayton, almost all its negative effects can only be felt now. We again have inflation, prices, various taxes and contributions are rising, people are even less able to spend on culture and education. The independent Hungarian press of the Southern Region is in the biggest trouble, it does not receive any support from anywhere. Our weeklies are declining; for example, the SZABAD 7 NAP [FREE SEVEN DAYS]—of which I am chief editor—was published in 40,000 copies in the early 1990s as the biggest Hungarian family weekly in Vojvodina, and now

we have come to the brink of closing it down due to financial problems. Our possibilities are not any better than in the toughest years of the war, in 1992-93.

[Gorgenyi] It is well known that education is the most important element of the survival of a national minority. How has the Hungarian educational network survived the past years in Vojvodina?

[Dudas] We see the Hungarian schools as a vital issue, this is also indicated by the fact that it is one of the major elements of the autonomy concept of both the VMDK and the VMSZ. They lay down the need for an independent Hungarian schooling system from kindergarten to university. Unfortunately, this goal has met with enormous opposition from the power and the Serbian opposition which calls itself democratic. Our situation is made more difficult by the fact that while in Transylvania and in the Upper Land [formerly Hungarian area, part of Slovakia since 1920] the Hungarian schools have to be maintained, we have to recreate them from the ruins of the war. I can also report on some positive processes. The seven local authorities in Vojvodina which have Hungarian majority—Szabadka, Ada, Zenta [Senta], Magyarkanizsa [Kanjiza], Obecs [Bece] Kishegybes [Mali Idos], and Bacstopolya [Backa Topola]—have handed in a request to the Serbian education ministry demanding the establishment of a Hungarian school system. Plans have also been made in connection with this, for example, Szabadka would have four Hungarian schools.

[Gorgenyi] The action has provoked a strong counterattack....

[Dudas] The Serbian press is accusing us of putting the Hungarian children in a ghetto with the separate Hungarian schools. This is not true, it was in vain for the NASA BORBA to condemn me personally for this. It is a fact that the building, the walls of the school also educate the pupils, they determine the atmosphere and the spirit. In a mixed language school, the language of the playground is Serbian. This is especially unfavorable if the children come from a mixed marriage because then they also speak Serbian at home. In mixed schools, the teaching staff operates in Serbian even if only a few Serbian teachers are working there. The Than Brothers Intellectual Club—its members are excellent educationalists, Mihaly Agoston, Lajos Toth, and others from the Ujvidek [Novi Sad] university—has already drawn up its concept on making education Hungarian. This proposal is now being discussed by many people and, in our experience, the parents do form a need for Hungarian education. Actually, the VMDK's survey also confirmed this.

[Gorgenyi] From what you are saying it seems that in spite of the well-known discord, the VMSZ and the VMDK have important linking points....

[Dudas] We have never denied this because, for example, our stances are identical on the protest against settlement and the need to set up a Hungarian school system. I can personally prove this because, until the split, I was chairman of the VMDK's education committee and now I am chairman of the VMSZ's similar committee. In its new concept the VMDK supports personally based autonomy because, in their view, politically this now has a chance, and the VMSZ considers the territorial autonomy more important. In my view, there is a chance for cooperation between the two political organizations on the main points. The seemingly different autonomy concepts cannot much hinder this, either, because after the split, the VMSZ's local government ideas were drawn up essentially by the same people—Sandor Hodi, Antal Balint, Lajos-Lacy Balla, and others—who had also done it for the VMDK before. I also participated in both. There are some differences on some points but these can be bridged or even combined. I will mention just one of the disputed issues, to show that they are not really essential. The VMDK's concept says that the post of chairman of the future autonomous territory's council should automatically become legally valid after the elections, while we—the VMSZ—believe that the Serbian Government should also confirm him in his position. In my view, it is perilous to argue about such issues in the current situation; we should concentrate our efforts on the school issue and on restoring our now reduced rights to use our language.

[Gorgenyi] In the meantime, while you are arguing about the autonomy concept, life is showing another way, which is a kind of possibility of the already functioning local governments. This is worth paying attention to especially because the establishment of a Vojvodina Hungarian territorial autonomy would at the moment face great difficulties.

[Dudas] Coordinating their power, the seven Hungarian majority local governments have achieved results which are even incredible for us. For example, they managed to make the Szabadka People's Theater back into Hungarian, the Dezso Kosztolanyi repertory theater is working with their support, and they managed to renew the 125-year-old Popular Circle, the oldest educational institution in town. They support the theater which visits the isolated farms, so now, together with the Town Theater in Ujvidek, four Hungarian theaters are holding performances. In addition, also with the support of the local governments, the theater groups in Zenta, Temerin, and Ujvidek are functioning on almost a professional level, mainly with young people. The local governments

also support the Hungarians living in isolated groups; for example, the Szabadka government built a school in south Banat, renewed churches, sent satellite dishes there, and a large number of books. I feel that, at the moment, this is one of the feasible ways because these kinds of activities by local governments are an embryonic form of territorial autonomy in a way.

[Gorgenyi] Elections will be held in the country in a few months. This is where it will be decided if the seven Hungarian majority local governments can continue to function in Vojvodina. If they cannot, this can have tragic consequences for the Hungarians. What are your views on this?

[Dudas] It is true; therefore, it is more important than anything else to coordinate the Hungarians and shake those up who have slid into lethargy. We cannot allow our representatives not to get into the appropriate local authority, provincial, Serbian, and republican forums. However, this raises the importance of cooperation between the VMSZ and the VMDK. In our view, this can be done if the already started clarification process continues in the VMDK.

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT NO. 382
MERRIFIELD, VA.

This is a U.S. Government publication produced by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS). Its contents in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

FBIS collects, translates, disseminates, and analyzes foreign open-source information on behalf of the U.S. Government. Its publications may contain copyrighted material. ***Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.***

- Bracketed indicators before the first sentence of each item describe the way in which the material was processed by FBIS.
- Headlines and all bracketed explanatory notes are supplied by FBIS.
- Personal and place names are rendered in accordance with the decisions of the U.S. Board on Geographic Names as adapted by FBIS. Unverified names in radio and television material appear in parentheses and are spelled phonetically; words and phrases in parentheses preceded by a question mark are unclear in the original and deduced from context.

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

U.S. Government Customers

For a list of FBIS products, to subscribe to an FBIS publication, or to indicate a change of address contact:

FBIS
P.O. Box 2604
Washington, DC 20013-2604
Telephone: (202) 338-6735
FAX: (703) 733-6042

Non-Government Customers

Subscriptions are available from the National Technical Information Service:

NTIS
5285 Port Royal Road
Springfield, VA 22161
Telephone: (703) 487-4630
FAX: (703) 321-8547

New subscribers should expect a 30-day delay in receipt of the first issue.